

L. 8. 142

PRIMITIVE EPISCOPACY,

Evincing from *L. 10. 70*

SCRIPTURE

AND

ANCIENT RECORDS,

That a BISHOP in the Apostles Times, and
for the space of the first three *Centuries* of
the Gospel-Church, was no more than

A Pastor to one single CHURCH
or *Congregation*.

With the Contents of each Chapter at the End
of the Book.

By the late pious and learned Minister of Jesus Christ,
David Clarkson, sometime Fellow of *Clare-Hall*,
Cambridge.

L O N D O N,

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MDCLXXXIX.



THE
EPISTLE
TO THE
READER.

THAT Bishops are Officers of the Church by Gospel Institution, *few will deny, but what sort of Bishops are so? hath been greatly litigated; Whether Diocesan Bishops, or Pastors to particular or single Congregations? The decision of which Question seems to be made by the late pious, learned, and laborious Servant of Christ in this ensuing Treatise, with much evidence and demonstration, shewing that in the Apostles Times, and for the space of three hundred years after, a Bishop was set over no more than one single Congregation, and therefore could not be such as our modern Bishops are, presiding over many Congregations, Superior in Order and Dignity to their respective Presbyters. I find two things have been in debate about Bishops, that concern us here.*

I. Whether Bishops in the management of their Ecclesiastick Rule and Government should stand in Superiority one to another? Whether they are subordinate in diversity of degrees? Or whether co-ordinate, equal in Power and Dignity, and furnished with compleat Jurisdiction in their own Bishopricks, without subjection to any other Superiour in Order or Degree?

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2. Whether Bishops are Officers of a Superiour Order to Presbyters? Or the ordinary Pastors of single Congregations, the same, or equal with them?

As to the first of these, a late Vindicator of Protestant Principles, to avoid an ugly advantage that Catholicks might make of the asserting Subordination of Pastors in the Church, saith, That there is no Subordination of Pastors in the Church by Institution, and that whatever Superiority or Jurisdiction Archbishops challenge over Bishops, it is but a humane Institution; for all Bishops with respect to Original Institution of Episcopacy are equal, and that the Pope is as very a humane Creature as an Archbishop is. See Vind. p. 71.

However, by his favour, that doth not destroy the Consequence, when it's said, That upon whatever Reasons Subordination of Pastors, Bishops, Archbishops, and Metropolitans are maintained, the same bottom an Occumenick Pastor will stand on; and what if the Antecedent be asserted and proved from divine or humane Institution? upon the same grounds the Consequence will follow.

And he saith further, 'Now all his Arguments proceed upon a mistake, that we own a Superiority of one Bishop over another, that Bishops own Obedience and Subjection unto Archbishops and Primates, and they to Patriarchs; whereas we own no such thing, but teach that all Bishops are equal, Vindic. of P. P. p. 68. but yet he saith, p. 72. I readily grant that since the Church is incorporated into the State, Archbishops and Metropolitans have a greater and more direct Authority over their Colleagues, as far as the Canons of the Church confirmed by the Supream National Authority extend.

So that the sum of what the Doctor saith, is, that all Bishops are equal and co-ordinate in power by divine Institution, but by humane Institution the Church became incorporated into the State, and so Archbishops got a direct governing

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ing Authority over their Colleagues; whence it follows, they teach one thing, and practice another.

But since that he roundly concedes that Bishops are the supream Governours and Pastors of their particular Churches, and that they allow of no Subordination of Bishops, i. e. Pastors, and that whatever Jurisdiction Archbishops challenge, is by Humane Institution: There we leave them with all their Superiority, Appendix Courts, Officers, Vestments and Canons, among the Heteroclitcs of our Divinity; and think not our selves concerned (whatever the Cath. Plagiary may) to trouble the Reader any more here about that matter, seeing it's Christs Image and Supercription on Church Officers, and Offices, that renders them great and good in the Minds and Consciences of right informed Christians. Those that bear only Cæsars Image, we leave them unto him, and his disposal at his Pleasure.

The second Question is that which is held in the affirmative by our Vindicator of Protestant Principles, viz. That there is a Superiority of Bishops to Presbyters, grounded on Apostolic Institution. The vindicators words are, 'The only Subordination we allow of, is the Subordination of Presbyters to Bishops, and that we found on Apostolick Institution; and this is not the Subordination of one Pastor to another, for none were called Pastors of the Church in St. Cyprian's days but Bishops, who are the Apostles Successors, to whom Christ intrusted the care of feeding his Sheep, for though Presbyters are intrusted with the care of the Flock, yet they are not compleat Doctors, because they are under the Direction and Government of the Bishop in the Exercise of the Ministry. Whereby I understand, and is clearly express'd,

1. That this Superiority of Bishops to Presbyters is not a Superiority of Pastors to Pastors, for that would assert a Subordination of Pastors in the Church by Institution, quite contrary to what the Doctor saith in the point of Subordination, and would lay him open to that ill-

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savour'd Inference which is so cross to the grain of a Protestant.

2. That Bishops (Diocesan are meant) are the only Pastors in the Church of Christ, Presbyters are not such, but only Assistants, Curats, Substitutes, Lecturers, or something known by these or some other Name or Title, suitably denoting their Office inferiour in order to a Bishop or Pastor, to whose Rule, Government, and Jurisdiction they are subjected; He calls them incomplete Pastors.

3. That by Apostolick Institution is meant something that is improper to call Jus divinum, but yet must be so secundum quid, & quodammodo, or else is no more than the meager Jus humanum, upon which they ground Archbishops and Metropolitans; for where there is Jus Apostolicum, there is and must be Jus Divinum to support it, and Bishops in their Co-ordinate state and standing are by Consequence, of Divine Institution. But D. S. saith, he allows no Consequence to prove an Institution by; and therefore, though I judge he is no Anabaptist, yet I suspect he did not duly consider what he was about, viz. To prove a Position, which I doubt will be very hard to do without a Consequence; neither would his Protestant Opponents be so strait-lac'd as to deny him the advantage of a good Consequence to prove the Subject of an Institution; for he can mean no more, unless he designed the baffling of his Adversary by a Fallacy back'd with Confidence.

This debate about the Superiority of Bishops to Presbyters hath long disturb'd the Christian World, especially since the damning of Reformation take account, at least of the progress of it, from the Learned Mr. W. P. in his Epistle dedicatory to Unbish. T. and T. saith, 'What innumerable Schismes, Treatises (which the undoubted parity of Ministers and Bishops, Jure divino, had prevented,) have the Prelates pretended Superiority over Presbyters, their fellow Ministers, produced in all Ages and Churches, especially in our own, from the first glimmerings of the Gospel

Gospel in John Wicliff's Time, &c. Which being raked up in Ashes for a space, by reason of our Bishops waving their Divine Right, &c. Yet our present ambitious Prelates have lately blown up the claim of their Episcopal Jurisdiction, Jure Divino, not only in their Sermons and Books, but even in the High Com. Court it self, in a late Censure of Dr. Bastwick, &c. where they founded the Divine Right of their Episcopal Superintendency and Dominion over their fellow Presbyters only on the Examples of Timothy and Titus. And this he saith gave the Occasion to him of writing that Book; and in his Dedication to the two Archbishops, he saith,

My Lords, I have sundry times heard you joyntly and severally protesting, even in open Court, not only in the High Commis. but in Dr. Laytons, and other Cases, since in the Star-Chamber, (whether seriously or vauntingly, let the Event determine,) That if you could not prove your Superiority and Function which you now claim and exercise over other Bishops, to be Jure Divino, you would forthwith cast away your Rockets off your Backs, and lay down your Bishopricks at his Majesties feet, and continue Bishops no longer.

Upon such and the like Challenges, Mr. W. P. and others, taking up the Gauntlet, the Enquiry about the Jus Divinum of Diocesan Episcopacy had an Ignoramus wrote upon it by most considering and inquisitive Protestants of all parties, whether it fared the worse in the account of many men, because the Jus Humanum met with such a violent Opposition, I shall not now determine.

But about the year 1660. The Bishops through his Majesties Favour and Grace, return to their Bishopricks, and lay claim to their pretended right of Superiority over Presbyters, in refusing Ministers ordained by Presbyters to Benefices, unless they will be re-ordained by the Bishops, expressly against the Stat. of 13 Eliz. ch. 12. Entituled, An Act to reform certain Disorders touching

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Ministers of the Church, and which admits such Ordinations to be valid.

Whereupon he reprinted this Treatise of Unb. T. and T. first printed in 1636. reprinted in 1660. Postscript to the reprinted Book.

Now we find the pretended Jus Divinum recommended to the People in a New Dress, which they do not so easily understand, or can refute, because it seems to refer to some thing that the Apostles did, and the Scriptures give us little or no account of; and therefore the People must receive by an implicate Faith, what their Teachers tell of the Fathers, and Church-History, concerning the Pomp, Jurisdiction, and Dominion of Bishops over Presbyters, and they tell them that it is Jure Apostolico.

And of this Jus Apostolicum, Rob. Sanderfon, Bishop of Lincoln, Anno 1661. gives us some Account in a small Tract, Entituled Episcopacy, as now established, no prejudice to Regal Power, wherein p. 13. he tells us, that all this ado about Jus Divinum is in the last result but a verbal Nicety, and distinguishing between a primary and secondary signification; In the primary it signifies positive, peremptory express Commands, such as the Ten Commandements, Creed, Sacraments, which when I have named, I have named all. The secondary sence is, when things that have no express Command in the Word, are yet found to have Authority and War-rant from the Institution, Example, or Approbation of Christ or his Apostles, and have been held by the Consistent Judgment of all Churches, and are interpretative of Divine Right, of which sort are the Lord's day, ordering the Keys, the distinction of Presbyters and Deacons.

That the Government of the Church by Bishops is of Divine Right in the first sence, is of great probability, &c. p. 16. But sufficient it is for the Justification of the Church of England, in the Constitution and Government thereof,

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thereof, in that it is (as certainly it is) of Divine Right
in the latter sence, i. e. of Apostolical Institution and Ap-
probation, exercised by the Apostles themselves, and by
other Persons in their Times, appointed and enabled
thereto by them, according to the will of the Lord Jesus
Christ; and by virtue of the Commission they had received
from him. p. 17.

And now what need all this ado to change Jus Divi-
num into Jus Apostolicum, or to find out some Her-
maphroditick Divinity, a medium between Jus Di-
vinum and Jus Humanum; or for men to pretend to a
new Edition of Jus Divinum, when, after frivolous dislin-
ctions without difference, to amuse the Ignorant, it's but
the same Jus Divinum still; for that we say is Jure Di-
vino which is grounded upon the revealed mind of God
in his Word; and because the Apostles tell us of it, we call
it not Jus Apostolicum, it were idle and frivolous so to do:
And what do any require more for a Divine Right, than the
ground upon which he saith they plead for this Episcopal
Superiority and Jurisdiction?

He saith, — which besides that it is clear from evi-
dent Texts of Scripture, and from the Testimony of as
antient and authentick Records as the World hath any to
shew for the attesting any other part of Ecclesiastic Story.

How many Writers have demonstrated, that it is not clear
from Texts of Scripture, nor from authentick antient Wri-
ters? For whereas the Prelates have affirmed it to be ground-
ed on Timothy and Titus; Mr. W. Prin doth make it
appear, that they were no Bishops in any sence applicabie to
the case in hand, and that there is not the least ground for
Diocesan Bishops or their Superiority to Presbyters, from any
thing that they did or were.

And Mr. R. B. in his elaborate Treatise of Episco-
pacy, hath sufficiently confuted the Divine or Apostolick
right of Diocesan Churches or Bishops, by Scripture, Reason,
and antient Testimony; shewing that they are contrary to the
the

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the Primitive Church-Species, Episcopacy, Ministry, Discipline.

Lastly, In this ensuing Treatise, it is made plain (as much as is possible in a matter of this nature) to every intelligent and impartial Reader; that in the Apostles Times, and for 300 years after, there were few or no other Bishops but such as had a sole Pastoral Charge over single Congregations, or were in the nature of Co-presbyters with such that were so; and therefore there were said often to be two Bishops or more in the same particular Congregation; and if so, how can any Bishop claim a Pastoral Charge of many Congregations, and Superiority over their respective Presbyters, by Divine or Apostolick Right?

Neither are they in the least relieved or sheltered by this pretended foundation of our Modern Episcopacy, from the force of the Arguments against their Jus Divinum: For Jus Apostolicum is either Jus Divinum, or Jus Humanum, no medium can be allowed betwixt, but there is no Jus Apostolicum to ground this Superiority pleaded for, that can carry the force of Jus Divinum, which hath been abundantly manifest, and therefore it can at best amount to no more than a proof from humane testimony.

Lastly, The Scripture seems to speak very plainly, thus far at least, in this matter under debate, that Bishops and Presbyters were Church-officers, ejusdem generis & ordinis, that any Officer with Pastoral or ruling Power in that Church, was indifferently called Presbyter or Bishop, during the Apostles Times, whatever difference might arise afterward, in distinguishing the Officers of the same single Congregation by different titles, which might be only distinctionis gratiâ, not by reason of any Superiority or Inferiority that was among them, any more than what was due from a common principle of Morality and Civility, for the younger in years to pay deference, and reverence to the elder.

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For a Bishop in its genuine sence, is any one that hath charge, trust, or jurisdiction committed to him, Ecclesiastic, Civil, Military, Oeconomick, &c. So any intrusted or authorized in either, may be called a Bishop or Overseer, as a Mayor of a Town, a Collonel or Captain in an Army, a Master of a Family, or Master of a Ship, yea a common Shepherd, &c.

The more peculiar and appropriate use of the word is occasioned by the Spirit of God's intitling Church-Officers therewith in general; but I find not that any one Church-Officer with teaching or ruling power is distinguished thereby, as superiour in dignity or power to the rest, and it appears,

In that all Church-Officers were called Bishops in respect of the care of a Flock committed unto them in teaching or ruling.

In this regard Christ himself is called our Bishop, 1 Pet. 2. 25. the Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls, and 1 Pet. 5. 4. he is therefore stiled *-ἐκκλησιαρχήν*, the chief or principal Shepherd, as being the true Archbishop, as having all Shepherds and Bishops under him, but no other Church Bishop having any under them; hence we have Christ's *ἐπισκοπήν*, his Bishoprick spoken of, Luke 19. 44. where the Word is to be understood of Christ's pastoral charge and care he takes of his Church and People, which when any People are under, it's such a day as is called a Day of Visitation.

I find not that the Apostles or Evangelists were any of them called Bishops, yet in respect of their Apostolick Charge and Power committed to them by Christ, whereby they did, as extraordinary Ministers, Exercise a Power over all the Churches and their stated Officers, they might be supposed to be justly enough entituled to that name, especially seeing *ἐπισκοπήν* is ascribed to them, (Judas falling from his) which is no more than an Office-Charge, Beneficium is not understood thereby, for they had none; neither is it meant, 1 Tim. 3. 1. if any one desire a Bishoprick he desires a good work, (not a good Benefice) office, work or charge :
The

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The word is rendered Bishoprick by our Translators, Act. 1. 20. but in the place of the Psalm from whence it's taken, the Seventy rendring פקרה by ἑπισκοπῶν, they English it Office; Let another take his Office, or Office-charge, Psal. 109. 8. and Act. 1. 17. We are told by the H. G. what this Bishoprick mentioned imports, its but his Ministry, Διευνοία, and therefore supposing the Apostles were Bishops or called so, it was but in regard of their Apostleship and Ministry as such, which was their Bishoprick; now for any to alledge, that our Diocesan Bishops are Successors to the Apostles, they may say with as good ground, that the Popes of Rome are Successours to St. Peter's Chair; for Successors to the Apostles must succeed them in, 1. Their Office-Charge, (which was of all the Churches) which Diocesan Bishops challenge not, though the Pope doth. The Doctor saith, they are supreme Pastors of their particular Churches. 2. As to their Qualifications, the Apostles were eye witnesses of the Lord's Resurrection, were immediately present by Christ himself; and the Holy Ghost inspiring them with extraordinary gifts of preaching and healing, such ought the Bishops to be, if they are the Apostles Successors. 3. They that are the Apostles Successors, are justly termed and entituled Apostles, as the successor of a King is a King; and so of any Officers, Civil, Military, or Ecclesiastical: but none of them will presume to take to themselves the title of an Apostle. These and many more Reasons may be given why they cannot be allowed to be the Apostles Successors. Neither did the Apostles look upon Bishop as a more honourable title than Presbyter, for if they had they would have assumed the title and called themselves so; but we find not when they give themselves the titles of their Office in writing Epistles, or dealing authoritatively with the Churches or Elders, that they any where stile themselves Bishops, but frequently Presbyters and Com-presbyters, 1 Pct. 5. 1. 2 John 1. 3. Epist. 1.

More-

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Moreover, all sorts of Presbyters in regard of any limited Office-Charge they were invested with, were called Bishops, being constituted Pastors or Shepherds to particular Flocks or Congregations, committed to them for teaching or ruling; for the same individual Pastors are called both Bishops, and Presbyters, as is clear, Act. 20. 17. 28. v. 17. Paul sends for the Presbyters of the Church of Ephesus to come to him to Miletus, v. 28. he chargeth those Presbyters to take heed to themselves, (not to give Canonical obedience to their Diocesans) and to the Flock, (not Flocks, they being all Officers to the single Church of Ephesus) over which the Holy Ghost had made, ἐπισκόπους, Bishops or overseers as Shepherds, whence follows the command, ποιμαίνετε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, to feed that Church as Shepherds by Doctrine and Government; for indeed ἐπισκοπεῖν is no more nor less than ποιμαίνειν, and where there is one, there is the other, and the Argument stands very clear and full: He that is constituted a Pastor to feed a Flock, is a Bishop to that Flock, but a Presbyter is constituted a Pastor or Shepherd to feed a Flock, therefore he is a Bishop to it. The Argument is as full also from 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2. Feed the Flock that is among you, ποιμαίνετε τὸν ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον; I render it, Feed the Flock which is with you, i. e. which you are set over, so the Syriac renders it, Pascite gregem Dei qui traditus vobis; Eth. qui est apud vos; so that these Presbyters which he exhorts had a feeding Pastoral care of a single Flock, and in the exercise of this Office they were to ἐπισκοπεῖν, to shew themselves good Overseers, careful and watchful providers for the Flock, and rulers of them; for they are ἡγούμενοι, and ἀγρυπνεῖσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν, they are leaders or rulers and watch for Souls, Heb. 13. 17. or rather over the Souls of their Flock.

Again, If a Bishop had been an Officer of distinct order from a Presbyter, The Apostle would have distinctly mentioned a Bishop, Eph. 4. 11. where he doth ex industria, enumerate the Officers extraordinary and ordinary,
which

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which were or are teaching and ruling Officers in the Church for its Edification; we find there *Ποιμάνεις καὶ διδασκάλους*, whether these have any office discrimination or no, is not to our purpose now to enquire, but its enough that in them are comprized Bishops and Presbyters, or else these Officers are not to be found amongst them, (where we have all) that are sufficient for the building up of the Body of Christ, to the fulness of its stature; for either Bishops are comprehended and intended by some Officers here specified, or else a Bishop is a superfluous Officer, here being enough mentioned for the work of the Ministry in the Gospel-Church, and for Edification of the Body, we have almost a parallel place, 1 Cor. 12. 28, 29.

Lastly, The Apostle Paul directs his Epistle, Phil. 1. 1. to the Bishops and Deacons; whence it's manifest, 1. That there were more Bishops than one in the Church of Philippi, whereas our Advocates for our modern Episcopacy, allow but one Bishop to a particular Church. 2. It's absurd (as will appear by the ensuing Tract) to say there was more than one Congregation in Philippi; if those Bishops had any Superiority, it was to the Presbyters of that Congregation, not to the Presbyters of many Congregations. 3. It's plain that Paul directing his Epistle to the Bishops and Deacons specified all the Church-Officers, and therefore by Bishops is meant Presbyters, or else there were no Presbyters there; for it's not likely he would have named Deacons and omitted Presbyters, Superiour Officers unto Deacons.

I might add, that both Bishops and Presbyters are treated of by the Apostle, as having the same qualifications to render them fit for Pastoral Charge, Tit. 1. 5. 7. Titus was to set Elders, i. e. Presbyters, in every City of Crete, to take care to see the Churches were all furnished; those Presbyters he calls Bishops, when he instructs Titus in the due Qualifications of a Presbyter to pastoral charge. Reader, many more things might be said, but I must remember I am but Epistolizing, and therefore shall not impose

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too much on thy patience to detain thee from that desirable and satisfactory Discourse that follows, whence it will appear to thee (if unbiassed and unprejudiced) what little reason there is to believe that a Bishop is by Christ's or his Apostles Institution Pastor to divers Congregations, or Superiour to Presbyters. 2. It will appear that a Bishop was chosen by the suffrage of the People. 3. That Co-habitation made none Church-Members, but they were added as they were converted to the Faith, or grew up under the Churches care. 4. That a Church under Bishops or Presbyters was never but one Congregation, meeting at one Communion-Table. 5. It was made appear what care and rule was observed in admittance of Church-Members, as to their knowledge, and as to their Lives and Conversation, what promises they made at admittance? and how it was done in foro Ecclesiæ, by the approbation and consent of the Brethren? 6. What care was used to watch over the Lives and Conversations of them that were in fellowship? and how upon conviction of any for scandalous Offences, or of Impenitency in lesser Sins, they were Excommunicated and cast out? and what great caution was used in re-admitting of Penitents?

The want of these things in Christian Churches of after Ages, hath occasioned that deluge of Corruption in Doctrine, Discipline and Manners, that hath overspread the face of Christianity, and dwindled it away into Formality, Profaneness and Superstition; and being not only caused, but maintained by the ignorant, pompous, slothful Clergy, contending more for their own Pelf and Domination, than for the Truth and Interest of Christ and poor Souls, hath scandalized the whole Profession of Christianity, and exposed it to the greatest scorn and contempt.

I know and expect the Entertainment this small, but worthy Treatise will meet with from some, and therefore no wonder if the Epistle recommendatory find the same, and since the Greatest Truths were never propagated in this dark World without great opposition, men loving darkness rather than light,

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light, both in Doctrine and practice; and therefore it's not strange if men love to be daubed with untempered Morter, and to have light called darknes, and darknes light, preferring always sycophantising Flattery before Sincerity and Plain-dealing; as a Heathen long ago experienced, and Testified, *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit: Sneaking Flattery produceth many Friends, but Plain-dealing Malicious Enmity.* I shall end with that saying of the Poet,

Ἄλλ' ἔτι δὲ παρέσω
 σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ πάντων χεῖμα δεικνύτατον.

Let Truth be lov'd by thee and me,
 As choicest Treasure that can be.

*In the promoting of which, it is honour enough to be thy
 Servant in the Esteem of*

Isaac Chauncy.

P R I E



Primitive Episcopacy

PROVED FROM

R E C O R D S

OF

A N T I Q U I T Y.

CHAP. I.

I Am sensible that a Discourse representing ancient Bishopricks, as vastly differing from what they are and have been in latter Ages, is not like to be well entertained with many ; when it must encounter with *Prejudice and Interest*, things, that do frequently baffle the best Evidence, in Persons otherwise very discerning and judicious.

To those who take the Measures of ancient times and things by their own, or are much concerned that they should not be otherwise than they are now, it will seem a great *Paradox*, to hear that a *Bishop* of old was but the Pastor of a *single Church*, or that his Diocess was no larger than one Communion-Table might serve, and contained no more

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than were capable of personal Communion. But being also apprehensive, that great advantages may be expected from a clear discovery of the truth in this particular; since thereby not only many passages in the ancient Writers may be cleared and secured from misconstruction, and divers mistakes corrected, into which men otherwise learned have slipt themselves, and drawn others after them; but that it may contribute much to the deciding of the Controversies amongst us about Church-Government, and bringing them to a happy composition, I was encouraged to offer what I had observed to this purpose, in the Records of Antiquity, to publick view.

As for Scripture-times, there will be little difficulty, since as much is acknowledged by the most learned and judicious *assertors of Prelacy*, as need be desired.

First, It is confessed, that the numbers of Christians, even in the greatest Cities, was small. Archbishop *Whitgift*, concerned to make the best of them, acknowledges this,

* *Defens. of Ans.* * after he had told us, "The
tr. 3. ch. 6. p. 175. " Gospel was preached in all
" parts, it was not generally

" received in any one part of the World;

" no, not in any City, not at *Jerusalem*, where

" all the Apostles were, not in any the least

" Town; He adds, there were Christians at

" *Jerusa*

“ *Jerusalem*, at *Antioch*, at *Ephesus*, at *Rome*,
 “ &c. but not the tenth part in any of these,
 “ or any other places in comparison to the
 “ *Jews* or *Gentiles*. In the Apostles times, the
 “ visible Church of Christ at *Rome*, was but
 “ a handfull in comparison. When *Matthias*
 “ was chosen, the whole Church was ga-
 “ thered together in one place, and so was it
 “ when the Deacons were chosen. --- The
 “ Election might be the whole Church when
 “ it was together in one place ; --- It might
 “ well be, that the People in every City
 “ might meet in one place without confusion,
 “ when as scarce the twentieth part of the
 “ City were Christians ; but it cannot be so
 “ now. So Bishop *Downham* tells us, “ That
 “ at the very first Conversion of Cities, the
 “ whole number of the People converted
 “ (being sometimes not much greater than
 “ the number of the Presbyters placed among
 “ them) was able to make up but a small
 “ Congregation, *Def. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 6.* At
 “ the very first, all the Christians in the Ci-
 “ ty and Countrey, if they had been assem-
 “ bled together, could have made but a small
 “ Congregation. *p. 69.*

No Instance can be brought against this,
 but the three thousand converted at *Jerusa-*
lem, *Acts 2. 41.* to which some would add
 five thousand more. But what may be ar-
 gued from hence for great numbers of Chri-

stians in Cities, proceeds upon a meer mistake, which I shall clearly remove. For it is but a small proportion of those thousands that can in reason be accounted the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and so fixed Members of that Church : for they were converted at one of the great *Feasts*, at which times the Inhabitants were not by far a twentieth part of those that were assembled in the City. That this may appear, let us enquire both after the number of the Inhabitants, and of those that from other places resorted to those Solemnities. To begin with the latter of these ; *Josephus*, *de bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 1^a. s. p. 968.* tells us, and out of him *Eusebius*, *hist. lib. 3. c. 5.* that *Cestius Gallus* willing to represent to *Nero* (who contemned the *Jews*,) the strength of that People, desired the Priests to take an account of their number ; they in order thereto, at the Passover, when several Companies (the least consisting of *ten*, many of *twenty*) were each of them to have their Sacrifice, numbered the Sacrifices, which came to 255600 ; then reckoning as though each Company had no fewer than ten, they collected the number of the people at the Passover to be 2700000, all legally clean ; but allowing the Families or Companies their just number, it amounted to 3000000 ; so *Eusebius*, *τειακοσία μυριάδων* ; and *Josephus* elsewhere, *ἐκ ἑλάντες τειακοσίαν μυριάδων. p. 798. Edit. Genev.*
An. 1635. But

But then they were all in a manner Forraigners, πολὺ δὲ τῆς τοῦ πληθὸς ἕξωθεν συλλέγεσθαι, l. 7. c. 17. The Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* were but 120000, as we learn by *Hecateus*, in *Joseph. contr. Ap. l. 1. περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδων*, (not *centum & quinquaginta millia*, as the Translator.) And it may be *Hecateus*, or his informer, over-reached, as well in the number of the Citizens, as in the measures of the City. He makes the Circuit of it fifty furlongs, whereas *Josephus* says, it was but thirty three, *de bell. Jud. lib. 6. c. 17. p. 914.* and the circumvallation of *Titus* in the siege but 39 furlongs, *lib. 6, c. 24.* And when twelve thousand were slain in *Jerusalem* in one night, the loss is represented as though the greatest part of the Citizens had been destroyed. *l. 5. c. 2.* But there is no need of these advantages. Let us suppose the Inhabitants to have been 150000 (30000 more than *Hecateus* makes them,) yet this will but be a twentieth part of three Millions, (and no less were wont to be at *Jerusalem* at the three great Solemnities) and then in all reason, no more than a twentieth part of the Converted must be accounted Inhabitants of the City, and so fixed Members of the Church. For that this happiness should fall in greater proportion upon those of the City than upon the forraigners at that time in it, both being in all the same circumstances, none

can upon any ground imagine. And if but a twentieth part of the Converted were Inhabitants, let them be twenty, or forty, or eighty thousand, or as many as the *Myriads*, *Acts* 21. 20. amount to, the Church at *Jerusalem* will not be so much greatned by them, but that it might well meet in one Congregation. If the Converts had been a hundred thousand, the proportion of that Church therein would have been but five thousand; and more have been in one Congregation in the Primitive times elsewhere, or else *Eusebius* could not have found *μυριάνδρους ἐπισυναγωγὰς*, *l. 8. c. 1.*

2. It is confessed, that in those times and after, *there was more than one Bishop in a City*. And if the Christians in any City were but few, and those divided betwixt several Bishops, how small a Diocess would the share of each make up. *D. H.* (whom others follow) tells us, that there were two Bishops at once in *Jerusalem*, in *Antioch*, at *Ephesus*, and at *Rome*, *Annot. in Revel.* 11. p. 662. He ventures to name the several Bishops, and assigns the Reasons why distinct Congregations under their respective Bishops in each City were necessary. He affirms it was so not only in the four Cities specified, but in others; and indeed upon this account it must be so in all Cities where a competent number of *Jews* and *Gentiles* together were Converted to Christ.

But

But there is no need of this acknowledgment. Nor will I insist on the grounds on which he proceeds. There is evidence enough in Scripture for a *plurality of Bishops* in several Cities, which may be easily vindicated from the attempts of some, who would deface it. That of the Apostle to the *Philippians* is pregnant, *Phil. 1. 1. To all the Saints in Christ Jesus that are at Philippi, with the Bishops, and Deacons.* To this it is said, that *Philippi* was the Metropolis of *Macedonia*, and the Bishops mentioned were not those of that City, but of the several Cities of the Province which was under this Metropolis.

But that *Philippi* was then a Metropolis or long after (which is all the support this Opinion hath) is a Presumption without any ground; there being nothing for it in Scripture, or in Ecclesiastical or Forraign Authors yet produced for the proof of it. A very learned Doctor thinks, that one Text, *Acts 16. 12.* affords two Arguments to evince it; it is *πρώτη*, the prime City, and it was beside that *καλονία*; and of such Colonies and chief Cities, it is no question they were especially chosen to be the places of their Assizes, whither the Neighbouring Cities resorted for Justice, and so were Metropolies in the civil account, *D. H. Vind. p. 111.* But in answer to this, *πρώτη* is there the *first* (as

it is rendered by our Translators) not the chief City; the first in situation, not the principal in Dignity and Preheminence; the first City that occurred in passing from *Thrace*

* Or as Dr. *De Vitl*, Such as go to *Macedonia* from the Isle of *Samothrace*, the first City they meet that is a Colony upon the Coast of *Edonis* — is *Philippi*. *Explan. of Act. C.* 16. v. 12. p. 57.

to *Macedon*, * it being seated at the edge of *Macedon*, and so near *Thrace*, as some Geographers count it a City of that Countrey. And so it was the first City of *Macedon*, as *Barwick* is the first English Town to one passing from *Scotland*, but far from

being the chief Town in *England*. The very notice of its situation which the best Geographers give us, leads us so to take notice; but that it was the chief City, as he takes it, is not only without but against all evidence. For it is known with what general consent *Theſſalonica* has the Preheminence amongst the Cities of *Macedon*; and that in *Theophylact* is taken notice of, where *Philippi* is called a little City being under *Theſſalonica* the Metropolis; it is said, that this was taken out of an old Geographer, and belonged to that City as it was built by *Philip*, not to those latter times under the Roman Empire. But even in the latter times and under the Roman Empire, when *Macedon* was made a Roman Province, *Philippi* was a place so inconsiderable, that it was not thought

thought worthy of mention by *Livie*, when he gives an account of the principal Cities in the whole Countrey, *dec. 5. l. 5. p. 90.* *Paulus Aemilius* divided it into four Regions, and the Metropolis in each is by him specified; *Regionum ubi Concilia fierent* (which shews where their Courts of Judicature or Assizes were held) *prima Regionis Amphipolim, secunda Thessalonicam, tertia Pellam, quarta Pelagoniam fecit.* So not *Philippi* but *Amphipolis* was the Metropolis of that part of *Macedon* where it was situate, thither the Neighbouring Cities were to resort for Justice, not to *Philippi*.

The other Argument, *viz.* its being a *Colonie*, is of no force at all, unless none but Metropolies were Colonies, which is apparently false, since Colonies were commonly planted in inferior Cities. So that oftentimes we find near twenty Colonies where but one Metropolis, as in *Mauritania Casariensis*, where there were nineteen; sometimes above twenty as in *Affrica propria*, where four and twenty; and in Countries where there were fewer Colonies, they were placed in the meaner Cities rather than the chief. In *Macedon* three of the four Cities which in *Livie* are *capita Regionum*, were without Colonies, *Thessalonica*, *Amphipolis*, and *Pellagonia*, if we may credit *Ferrarius* his account of them; and in *England*, where there were
four

four Colonies, *London* had none. *Onuphrius* indeed will have it a Colonie ; but *Brierwood* shews his mistake out of *Tacitus* his own Author, *Inquir. p. 19.*

In fine, not only meaner Cities, but Villages might be Colonies. The Emperour gave the honour of a Colonie to a Hamlet. *Patavissestium vicus a D. Severo jus Colonia impetravit. l. 50. digest.*

Let me but add another Text to this Vindication, *Acts 20. 17. From Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the Elders of the Church ;* who are said *verse 28.* to be made Bishops by the Holy Ghost. To evade this, some by Church will not understand that of *Ephesus*, but the several Churches of *Asia* ; and so by Elders not those of *Ephesus* onely, but the Bishops of the *Asian* Churches ; whereas this sense, neither the Text, nor other Scriptures, nor the Ancients will allow. The Text it self gives it no countenance, but rather refuses it ; nor must it be admitted by the best Rule Expositors follow of Interpreting a Text by it self. *He sent to Ephesus, and called the Elders of the Church :* Of what Church, but of that there mentioned, of the Church of *Ephesus* ? who would imagine other, but those who find it cross their Pretensions ? I need not say that the *Syriack* Version, *Chrysostom*, *Theophilact*, *Oecumenius*, *Theodoret*, and the whole stream of the Ancients,

cients are against this new sense, not any favouring it, but one amongst them all; and he in such terms, as those who alledge him will not admit the intire expression; nor that it crosses the Scripture in its constant style. Christians in a Town or City are called a *Church*, and still expressed singularly, whereas those in a Countrey or Province are called *Churches*, and expressed *Plurally*. I pass these as touched by others, that which I insist on is this:

The Apostle *Paul* resolved to be at *Jerusalem* at the day of *Pentecost*, and made all hast possible that he might be there, *Acts* 20. 16. and accordingly was there at that day, as *D. H.* tells us, *Acts* 24. 11. And the many *miriads* that he found there assembled, are an evidence of it. But he was not, he could not be there at the day of *Pentecost* if he stayed long at *Miletus*. And he could not assemble the Bishops of *Asia* there, unless he stayed long there. Let us make both these manifest. If he stayed longer at *Miletus* than three or four dayes at most, he could not be at *Jerusalem* at the Feast of *Pentecost*: for there being but seven weeks betwixt that and the *Passover*, he came but to *Miletus* in the latter end of the fourth week, as is clearly discernable from *Acts* 20. 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, *verses*. He sailed from *Phippi* after the dayes of unleavened Bread were past,

past, v. 6. and so when one of the weeks was past, he came to *Troas* in five days, and stayed there seven; and so departed from thence on Monday in the fourth week, v. 6, & 7. in four days more he arrived at *Miletus* in the latter part of the fourth week, v. 13, 14, 15. And three weeks more we have an account of, after his departure from *Miletus* before he arrived at *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 21. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 15, *verses*. From *Miletus* by *Coos*, *Rhodes*, *Patara*, in four or five dayes he came to *Tyre*. *Chrysostom* reckons them five dayes, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἡμερῶν πέντε εἰς Τύρον, *Homil.* 45. on *Acts*. At *Tyre* he stayed seven dayes, v. 4. at *Ptolemais* one day, v. 7. and the many days he stayed at *Casarea*, v. 10. εἰς Καινίαν πλείους μένει τῶν ἄλλων. And what was requisite to bring him from *Casarea* to *Jerusalem*, which was seventy miles distant, could not be less than would make up the other days forementioned, as near to three weeks, as we now suppose.

So that hereby it is evident, that three or four dayes was all that can be allowed for his stay at *Miletus*. And this was not time sufficient to send summons to the several Bishops of *Asia*, and for them to come to *Miletus* upon such summons. It was time little enough to send to *Ephesus*, and to have the Bishops and Presbyters of that City come to *Miletus*, being three or four dayes journey going

going and coming: For in the common reckoning a dayes Journey by land was near twenty miles, 160, or 166 furlongs; or by v. 6, a larger account 200 furlongs, five and twenty miles, as *Casaubon* in *Stromb.* 21. observes out of *Herodotus*, *Livie*, *Polybius*, &c. Now *Ephesus* was fifty miles from *Miletus*, 400 furlongs, as *Camerarius* tells us, and so four dayes Journey too and fro, according to the larger reckoning. And if the Messenger were accommodated for extraordinary speed, one day at least must be allowed for *Ephesus*, and no less than two for the Bishops or Presbyters, being usually aged Persons, especially if they came on foot (as the Apostles and their Disciples were wont to do when they travelled by land;) and a good part of the day might be taken up by the Apostles Exhortation, Prayer, and their Conference with him. But it is not imaginable, that this time, that was little enough to bring the Bishops from *Ephesus*, could be sufficient to assemble them at *Miletus* from many several and remoter parts; or if they will have us to understand the Bishops through all the lesser *Asia*, all *Natolia*, as they sometimes express it, *Diff.* 4. c. 8. sec. 6. many weeks time will be little enough for the convocating so many dispersed through so vast a Region: Or if we understand it only of the *Lydian* or *Proconsular Asia*, and of the Bishops of the principal Cities near-

er to *Ephesus*, such where there are mention of Churches in Scripture, many dayes (more than can be allowed) would be necessary for their assembling together at *Miletus*, as will appear by the distance of some few: For as *Ephesus* was fifty miles north of *Miletus*, so *Smyrna* was 320 furlongs (forty miles) north of *Ephesus*, as *Strabo*, lib. 14. init. *Pergamus* further north of *Smyrna* 540 furlongs, i. e. about 68 English miles, and so 158 from *Miletus* going and coming. *Sardis* was three dayes Journey from *Ephesus*, as *Herodotus*, lib. 5. and the Bishops coming by *Ephesus* to *Miletus*, it will be twice more, besides what must be allowed the Messenger going thither from *Miletus*. So that there is no possibility of assembling the Bishops of *Asia* at *Miletus* in so few dayes, as would leave it possible for the Apostle to be at *Jerusalem* at the day of *Pentecost*. And therefore the *Elders* sent for could not be those of the severall Cities of *Asia*, but of *Ephesus*; and then it cannot be denyed, but in that Church there was a plurality of Elders or Bishops.

3. It is acknowledged, that both in Scripture times and long after, the Bishops Diocels was so small that one Altar was sufficient for it: See Mr. Mede, *Proof for Churches in the 2d Cent.* p. 29. ' Nay more than this, ' saith he, it should seem, that in those first
times

times before Diocesses were divided into
 the lesser and subordinate Churches we now
 call Parishes, and Presbyters assigned to
 them, they had not onely one Altar in one
 Church or *Dominicum*, but one Altar to a
 Church, taking Church for the Company
 or Corporation of the faithful united under
 one Bishop or Pastor, and that was in the
 City and Place where the Bishop had his
 See or Residence; like as the *Jews* had but
 one Altar and Temple for the whole Nati-
 on, united under one High Priest; and yet,
 as the *Jews* had their Synagogues, so per-
 haps they might have more *Oratories* than
 one, though their Altar was but one, there
 namely where their Worship was. *Die So-*
lis, saith *Justin Martyr*, *omnium qui vel in*
oppidis vel rure degunt in eundem locum con-
ventus sit; namely, as he there tells us, to
 celebrate and participate the holy Eucha-
 rist. Why was this, but because they had
 not many Places to celebrate in? And un-
 less this were so, whence came it else, That
 a Schismatical Bishop was said *instituere* or
collocare aliud Altare, and that a Bishop and
 Altar are made Correlatives? See *St. Cy-*
prians Epist. 40. 72, 73. & *de Unitate Ec-*
clesiæ. And thus perhaps is *Ignatius* also to
 be understood in that forequoted passage of
 his in *Θυσιαστηριον*, *unum Altare omni Ecclesiæ*, &
unus Episcopus cum Presbyterio & Diaconis.
 Where

Where he extends those first times before Diocesses were divided, to the latter end of the third Age, alledging *Cyprian* for proof. To the same effect *D. H. Dissert. 3. c. 3. sect. 15.* alledging for it *Ignatius, Cyprian* and other learned men. The same may be concluded from *D. T.* citing *Damasus* speaking of the Titles in *Rome* *

* *Dr. T. Episcopacy asserted,* giving an account out of *Damasus*, what *Enaristus* and *Dionysius* did about dividing of Parishes or titles in the City of *Rome*, he adds, *Marcellus* increased the number in the year 305. *Hic fecit cœmeterium, & 25 titulos in urbe Romæ constituit, quasi Diœceses propter baptismum & pœnitentiam multorum qui convertebantur;* he made a Sepulture or Cœmety for the Burial of Martyrs. — And the use of Parishes, which he subjoyns, alters the business, for he appointed them only propter baptismum & pœnitentiam multorum & sepulturas, for Baptism, and Penance and Burial: for as yet there was no preaching in Parishes, but in the Mother Church.

Hence he inferrs, that there was yet no preaching in Parishes, but the Mother Church, and but one Pulpit in a Diocess. So that *Damasus* and the *Doctor* out of him leaves us evidently to conclude, that there was no Communion celebrated, no Communion-Table but in the Mother Church. The Parishes mentioned at *Rome* were only appointed for Baptism, and Penance and Burial, and this three hundred and five years after Christ, and at *Rome* too, the greatest and most populous Church in the World. To these I might add *Petavius*, who had no superiour for Learning amongst the Jesuits,

Jesuits, nor any to whom Prelacy is more obliged. He is positive, that in the fourth Age, there was but one Church or Title ordinarily in a City, and proves it by *Epiphanius*, who speaks of more Titles in *Alexandria*, as a thing singular and peculiar to that City (there being no other instance thereof before but *Rome*,) *singularem tunc temporis Alexandriae morem hunc fuisse*, &c. in *Epiph. hær. 96. p. 276.* as also by the Council of *Neocæsarea. Can. 13.* And Dr. *Stillingfleet, Sermon against Separat. p. 27.* ‘For although when the Churches increased, the occasional Meetings were frequent in several places, yet still there was but one Church, and one Altar, and one Baptistry, and one Bishop, with many Presbyters assisting him; and this is so very plain in Antiquity, as to the Churches planted by the Apostles themselves in several parts, that none but a great stranger to the History of the Church can ever call it in question.

So that this is not barely delivered by persons of excellent learning, and intimate acquaintance with antiquity; but proved by those Records which are most venerable in their account; and the evidence reaches not onely the Apostles times, but divers ages after,

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Hereby it appears, that a Bishops See of old was ἐπισκοπος, as *Nazianzen* styles his own; and a Diocesis far from such a thing, as hath now the name: For that wherein there was but one Communion-Table did not differ much from one of our Parishes; and the Bishops flock but like the Cure of one of our Parsons or Vicars, when one Table would be sufficient for it; indeed one is too little for divers of our Parishes.

But to give fuller proof of this, let us view the Bishops *seats* of old, and we shall find them either so small, or so few Christians in them, as will convince the impartial, that we have not made their bounds too narrow. There were many Bishops in Villages; many in Cities, no bigger than Villages; most of them in Cities which were but like our Market-Towns; no more under Bishops in those Cities which were counted *great*, than could meet together for Christian Communion; and scarce any of the few *largest* Cities contained more Christians for some hundred years than are in some of our Parishes.

CAP. II.

THose that are concerned to extend the ancient Bishop to the modern pitch and largeness, will not endure to hear, nor would have any believe, that it was usual of old to have Bishops in Villages, nor such little places; and tell their Opponents, that, *the most learned amongst them, have not been able with great labour and hard study, to produce above five Instances hereof*, and that this is not enough, if none of them were mistaken, to prove it usual. But there are several things counted usual in the ancient Church, of which no more Instances can be given, nor so many. And yet more have been and may be produced for Bishops in Villages, than some are willing to take notice of.

D. D. l. 2.
c. 7. p. 132.
134. and f.
T. ep. assert.
p. 304.

In the Diocess of *Egypt, Hydrax* and *Palebisca*, two Villages, *κώμαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πενταπόλεως*, sayes *Synesius*, had their Bishops; he went thither, as he tells us in the same place, *Epist. 67. πρὸς δευτέρῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπισκοπὴν σκέψαν*.

So had *Olbiun* a Village in the same Region; *δῆμος ἐστὶ χαμῆνης*, after the death of *Athamas* Bishop there, *ἐδύνατο ἀεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*,

the election of a Bishop was needfull, and *Antonius* was chosen, *Epist.* 76.

Zygris is an Egyptian Village, in *Protony*. *Athanasius* gives us the name both of the Place and Person that was Bishop there, *Μεγας Ζυγρων, ad Antiochen.* p. 452. tom. 1.

We meet with *Ἀρτιάς κώμην*, in *Diodorus*, l. 1. And in the Council of *Ephesus* with *Episcopus Anteensis*, *Crab. Conc.* p. 747. I cannot find any other place that will suit him.

Schadia in *Strabo* is *ἡγεμονία πόλεως*, rendered *pagus Urbi similis*, l. 17. p. 550. *Athanasius* tells us who was the Bishop of it, *Αγαθοδιδίμων χερσίας, ad Antioch.* p. 452.

In the Breviary of *Meletius*, wherein he gives *Alexander* an account what Bishops he had made; amongst the rest there is *κερνιος ἐν μετέλλῃ*, in *Athanas.* apol. 2. p. 612. And a place called *Andromene*, was the Episcopal Seat of *Zoilus*, as *Athanasius* informs us, *Ζώϊλος Ἀνδρωμηνέας, ad Antioch.* p. 452. Which two last (with divers others which I will pass by) are in all probability Villages, since there are no such Cities discovered in *Egypt*.

Ἰψήλις is a Village in *Stephanus*. And *Hypselis* had two Bishops at once, *Ansonius* of the *Meletian* Faction, and *Paul* for the Orthodox, *Athan.* apol. 2.

Dra-

Dracontius, ἐν τῇ ἀλεξανδρίῳ χώρα καταστάς,
(*Athan. epist. p. 736. ad Dracont.*) being
made a Bishop in the territory of *Alex-*
andria, could have no City for his seat.

Secontarurus was a very small and con-
temptible Village that *Ischyus* was made
Bishop of, containing so few Inhabitants,
that there was never Church there be-
fore, as *Athanas. apol. 2. p. 622. κώμῃ βραχυ-*
τάτῃ, καὶ ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων.

And that was little better, where the
Writers of the life of *Chrysostom* tell us,
Theophilus of *Alexandria* settled a Bishop;
they all call it *κωμόδειον*, a small Hamlet, *Georg.*
Alexand. p. 210. Anonymus vit. Chrys. p. 345.
Sim. Metaphr. p. 407. inter Chrysost. opera.

In the Council of *Ephesus* there was
Episcopus Bacathensis, *Crab. l. 1. p. 826.* And
Epiphanius calls *Bacathum* *μικροχωρίαν τῆς Ἀραβίας*,
a chief Village in *Arabia*, *Anacephal. p. 141.*
In that part of *Arabia* which was annexed
to *Palestine* there was good store of Bishops
in Villages, as appears by the antient Ca-
talogue in *Gulielm. Tyrinus.* There is no
need to mention particulars, since *Sozomen*
assures us that there ἐν κώμας ἐπίσκοποι ἐστάναι,
hist. l. 7. c. 19.

In *Syria*, *Theodoret* tells us of *Paul* a
Confessor, in the Persecution by *Licinius*,
one of the Fathers at the first Council of

Nice, and Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, which he says is *φράειον*, a Castle or Fort near *Euphrates*, *hist.* l. 1. c. 7. *Maronia* is described by *Jerom* to be a Village thirty miles from *Antioch*, and we meet with a Bishop there, and the name of him *Τιμόθεος Μαρωνείας*, in *Georg. of Alexandria*, in the life of *Chrysost.* §. 60. p. 236.

Athanasius gives us the name of a Bishop in *Calane*, *Ευφρασίον ὁ ἐν καλαναῖς*; and of another in *Siemium*, *Δομνίδον ἐν σεμίῳ*, *ad solitar. vit. agent.* p. 629. which were Villages, or such obscure inconsiderable places as no Geographer takes notice of. Particular instances are needless here. The Council at *Antioch* in their Synodal Epistle concerning *Paulus Samosatenus*, mention Bishops both in Country and Cities, *ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων*, *Euseb.* l. 7. c. 7.

In *Palestine*, *Jamnia* was a Village in *Strabo's* account, *ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κοίμης Ιαμνίας*, l. 16. p. 522. So is *Lydda* in *Joseph. Antiquit.* l. 20. c. 5. p. 692. yet both Bishops seats in *Tyrius Catalogue*: So is *Nais* there and *Zoraron*, (in *Ortelius Zodeg. Pagus.*) And in one of the three *Palestines*, there's an account of fourteen Villages which were Bishops Secs, *Comes* (Gr. *κοίμης*) *Nais*, *sen vici Nais*, *Comes Charus*, and many more. Hence *Miræus* observes, *Comes idem est quod vicus græcis*,

cis, quo nomine multi episcopatus sub patriarcha Ierusalym. prænотantur a Gulielm. Tyreo, Notit. epist. p. 301.

In the same list we meet with *Pentacomia*, in the Province of *Raba*, with *Tricomia* in that of *Cæsarea*; with *Tricomia*, *Pentacomia*, *Hexacomia*, and *Enneacomia* in that of *Becerra*, each of which probably was a Præcinct consisting of so many Villages, as the several words denote, under the inspection of one Bishop, who had no City, but such Hamlets for his Bishoprick; as of *Prapedius* it is said, *πλάς ἐπισκοπῆς κώμας*, *Sozom. l. 6. c. p. 403.*

But there's no need to insist on this; only it is to be noted what a friend of Episcopacy speaks ingenuously of that Region. "But at this time, says Mr. Fuller, Bishops were set too thick for all to grow, and *Palestine* fed too many Cathedral Churches to have them generally fat: *Lydda*, *Jamnia*, and *Joppa*, three Episcopal Towns were within four miles one of another; and surely many of their Bishops (to use Bishop *Langham's* expression) had high Racks, but poor Mangers. Neither let it stagger the Reader, if in that Catalogue of *Tyrius* he light on many Bishops seats which are not to be found in *Mercator*, *Ortelius*, or any other Geographer; for some of them were such poor places, that they were

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“ashamed to appear in a Map, and fell so
 “much under a Geographer’s notice, that
 “they fell not under it: For in that age
 “Bishops had their Sees at poor and con-
 “temptible Villages, *Hist. of Holy War*,
 “B. 2. c. 2. p. 45, 46.

In *Cyprus*, *Sozomen* tells us, it was usual to have Bishops in Villages, ἐν κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι ἐρῶνται παρὰ κυτείαις, and also in other Countreys, ἀν’ ἄλλοις ἔθρεσσιν, without regard it seems of any restraint which some Bishops endeavoured to put upon that practice. And thus it continues with the *Cypriots* to this age; for whereas there are betwixt twenty and thirty Bishops in that Island, (and it is like the number has decreased there as in many other places) there are but four of their Seats which have the face of a City, *Potius pagi quam urbis speciem præ se ferunt*, says *Ferrarius*. The Catholick of *Armenia* had above 1000 Bishops under his obedience, as *Otto Frising.* writes from the report of the *Armenian* Legates, *Chron. lib. 7. c. 32.* And after him *Baronius*, *ad an. 1145.* and our *Brerewood*; yet both the *Armenia’s* in *Justinian’s* time (who made the most of them) made but four Provinces; and in the first, he tells us, there was but seven Cities, in the second but five, in the third but six, in the fourth but

but one City (*Martyropolis*) and a Castle, (τὸ καθαιζον ὄριον) *Novel.* 31. ch. 1. but twenty in all, and divers of them taken out of *Pontus* : If the *Armenian* Bishops had not amounted to above the twentieth part of the number recorded, yet more than half of them must be Village Bishops. *Justinian* giving an account how many Cities there were in the Provinces of *Pontus* and the Regions near, in *Lazica* finds seven Castles and but one City, and that made so by himself, *Petravon* ὑπὸ ἡμῶν τὸ πόλις εἶναι ἴε καὶ ὀνομαζέσθαι περὶ λαβῆσαι, *Novel.* 28. *præfat.* Yet in the *ὑπόμνησις* of *Leo Sophus*, in *Lazica* there are fifteen Bishops belonging to one Metropolis.

In *Lycaonia* and the parts adjacent we have more instances hereof, and confirmed by the best Authority. The *Apostles* having Preached there, *Act.* 14. and their Ministry being successful to the Conversion of many, so that there were competent numbers for the constituting of Churches in the several places mentioned, they ordained Elders for every Church, *v.* 2, 3. Those Elders were Bishops, as they assure us who have new model'd the Principles by which Prelacy may be maintained with most advantage, and without which (whatever their Predecessors thought) they judg-
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ed it not defensible. The places where those Churches with their Bishops were constituted, are mentioned *v. 20, & 21. viz. Antioch, Iconium, Derbe and Lystra* : Now, if we take the account which the best Geographers give us of these places, it will be manifest, that the *Apostles* did fix Bishops, not only in great Cities, but in lesser Towns, yea in Country Granges or Villages. *Antioch* was the Metropolis of *Pysidia*, says *Chrysostom* ; a great City, and yet not so great but all the Inhabitants in a manner could meet together to hear the Word, *Act. 13. v. 44. Iconium* in *Strabo* is πολὺχιον, only εὐσωμασμένον, a small Town, but well built, *l. 12. p. 391*. By which we may judge of those places which were Bishops seats under it ; there are fifteen of them in the διὰύπσις of *Leo Sophus*.

Derbe, in *Stephanus*, is φρέειον, a Fort or Castle of *Ifauria* : It was, says *Strabo*, in the borders of *Ifauria* ; and agreeably with *Stephanus*, he calls it, not a City, but τὸ ἀντιπάρει τοῦ ἄντιπέρου, the seat of *Antipater*, who, he tells us, was ληστής, a Robber, *l. 12. p. 368*. a φρέειον being the fittest receptacle for such a person : This could not be populous, being of no large compass. *Polybius* speaks of *Tychos*, such a Fort, (in the territory of *Elis*) which he calls also χωρίον ἡ μέγα, a small

small Countrey place or Grange but a furlong and a half in compass, *l. 4. p. 345, 346.* and in him, as in others, *χωρίον* is a Village or Caltle, *l. 2. p. 139.* a Countrey place distinct from a City, *ἡ πόλις ἀλλὰ χωρίον.*

Lystra seems a place no more considerable; it is a small place in *Isauria*, in *Ptolomy*, and *Strabo*, though not by that name: In *Ptolomy* it is *ἄνσιρα*, (which in the Greek Manuscript in *Selden* is *λύσιρα*, (as is noted in the last edition of *Ferrarius*) and in the Latine Version which *Ortelius* used, *Lystra*) and *Ausira* is the same with *Isaura* in *Strabo*, one of those two places in *Isauria*, which he says were of the same name with the Countrey, (for *Ausira* and *Isaura* differ but in the transposition of two Letters, as *Cassaubon* observes) and both these with him are Villages, *ἱστανεία κώμας δύο ἔχουσα ἑμινόμεναι, l. 12. p. 391.* So that *Lystra*, which is *Ptolomie's Ausira*, and *Strabo's Isaura*, was in his account but a Village; though (it is like) of a larger size, such as the Scriptures and other Authors sometimes call a City, *ἡ δὲ μεγάλη κώμα πόλις ὀνομάζουσα, Strab. l. 3. p. 112.* Hereby it further appears, that in Scripture and other Authors, Villages, and other such small places do pass under the name of Cities: *Derbe* a Fort or Grange, and *Lystra* a Village are called Cities of *Lycania*,
A.C.

Act. 14. 6. Also that where there is a Church, whether the place be small or great, there ought to be a Bishop. And likewise that the *Apostle* ordained Bishops in Villages and other places as inconsiderable, and left the practice warranted by Apostolical example and authority.

Artemidorus giving an account of all the Cities in *Pisidia*, reckons but eleven, whereas there are twenty two Bishopricks in the Catalogue of *Leo*, vid. *Strab.* l. 12. p. 392.

Strabo divides *Cappadocia* (that part of it which was called *Taurica*) into five *επαρχίας*, or Prefectures, three of which had no Cities in them, δύο δὲ ἔχουσιν μόνον *επαρχίας* πόλεις. One of these had *Tyana* for its Metropolis, the other *Mazaca*, called *Cæsarea*: So that *Μεγαλὴν καὶ Λαόνειαν* (which *Ptolomy* makes part of the lesser *Armenia*, thō *Stephanus* and *Pliny* agree with *Strabo*) and *Isauritis* had not one City in them, and yet there were many Bishopricks in them. In the other two Prefectures besides *Nazianzum*, which in *Gregory*, who had his name from it, and best knew it, is not only *μικρὰ*, but *εὐλαχὲς* ἐκ πόλεων, *Orat.* 9. p. 155. and so short of many Villages; there was *Doara*, which is *κώμη*, a Village in *Basil*, and met with a Bishop poorer than the place, *δοᾶρις ἦν κώμη* φησὶν *ἀνθρώπων*, which *Basil* expresses his

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resentment of (as a disparagement of the Episcopal name) in his *Epistle to Euseb. Samosatensis*.

And *Basil* advises *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium*, to constitute Bishops for that Province in little Towns and Villages, *Epist.* 406.

Sasnia, which in *Nazianzen* is *angusta villula*, who by the importunity of *Basil* and the Senior *Gregory*, was ordained Bishop there, but with such reluctance, that he would never settle there, being indeed a place far below a person of such eminency. *Cu. de vit.*

Likewise a Countrey place, where one of a servile Condition was made Bishop by *Basil*, but *Simplicia* his Mrs. after *Basil's* death, forced into her service again, which Lady *Nazianzen* is importunate with to restore him to his Episcopal See; this he calls *χωρίον*, *Epist.* 28. p. 801. which in him (as in others) is a place inferior to a City, *καὶ ἡδὲ πάλαι ἀπὸ χωρίον*, *Orat.* 25. p. 435. So he represents the *Arians* expressing the meanness of the place where he was Bishop. Such also were those other places which *Basil* (when a great part of the Province was rent from him upon the partage of it betwixt him and *Anthanas* of *Tyana*) made Bishops Seats (for the Cities were taken up before): And those Bishopricks were not a few, as appears by *Nazianzens* expression

pression of *Basils* action, *πλείστον ἐπισκόποις ἢ πατερίδα καὶ ἀποκνήσας*; and *Gregory* applauds this multiplying of Bishopricks, *ὡς ἐξέλιξα διαίτησιν* (*Orat.* 20.) as an excellent art, Souls being hereby better looked after; *ἡγουμένων ὁπότερὰ πλείων*, p. 356. tho others would have had this less regarded, and the Bishops honour more.

In *Pontus*, *Polemoniacus*, *Pityus* and *Sebastopolis* were Bishops Seats, yet they were not Cities in *Justinians* account, *πρωτὰ καὶ σεβαστόπολιν ἐν φρεσίν μᾶλλον ἀειθροῦσαν ἢ πόλιν*.

Coracesium is but a Castle in *Strabo*, l. p. 459. *καλικῶν φρέιον*, yet a Bishop of it is found amongst those of *Pamphylia*, in *Leo Sophus*.

Thymbria is a Village, in *Strabo*, l. 14. p. 438. A Bishop of *Timbria* under *Ephesus* we find in *Conc. Chalced. Grab.* p. 892.

Amyzon and *Heraclea*, (another in *Caria* besides that *ad Lathmum*) are both Bishops Seats. *Vid. Min.* 107, 108, 237. yet no more than Castles, as *Strab.* l. 14. p. 453. *Edit. Atrebat.*

Heraclea ad Lathmum, another Bishops Seat, but *πολίχριον*, *Str.* l. 14. p. 437. So are *Ceramus* and *Bargesia*, *πολίχρια*, p. 451.

Docimia is a Village, *δοκίμια καίμα*, *Str.* l. 12. p. 397. a Bishops Seat often mentioned in subscription of Councils, in *Leo's* Catalogue under *Amoreus*.

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There's *Nea*, which in *Suidas* and *Stephanus* is a Castle, and a *Nea* in *Pliny* and *Strabo* that is a Village. In the Council of *Chalcedon* there is a Bishop of *Nea* under *Laodicea*, and another under *Ephesus*, *Crab.* p. 892.

Pannonion is a Castle in the Territory of *Cyzicus*, says *Stephanus*, and there is a Bishop of that Title under the Metropolitan of *Cyzicus*, *Διατύτ. Leo.* And such a Bishop mentioned *Conc. C. P. 6. Crab. I. 2. p. 61.*

There is a Bishop of *Gordi* under *Sardis*, of *Midei* under *Synnoda* in *Phrygia*, which in *Strabo* are *Μίδαι* and *Γορδία ὑπεκτίετα* — ἡ δ' ἔχον σώζοντα πόλεων ἀλλὰ κώμαι μικρὲ μείζους τῶν ἄλλων, *l. 12. 392.*

There were Villages of several sizes then, as there are now.

1. Some very little, such as *Zonaras* calls *μονοίκια*, in *Chalced. can. 17.* or such as those mentioned in the Constitutions of *Isaac Comnenus*, *Cod. p. 283.* which had but *εἰκοσι*, or *δέκα καπνὸς*.

2. Some pretty big, as those of the *Phocenses* in *Pausanias*, when their Conquerors had reduced their Cities into Villages, *εἰς κώμας ὑπέκτισαν*, (and stinted them that they might not be too great) which consisted of fifty houses.

3. Some

3. Some greater, such as *Justinian* calls *μεγίστας κώμας*, *Novel 24.*

It would be too tedious to give an account of all those particulars which are obvious. The Synod of *Laodicea*, which forbade the making of Bishops in some Villages, gives evidence that in such places there were Bishops, *Can. 55.* ἡ δὲ ἐν ταῖς κώμας καὶ ἐν ταῖς χωρίαις καθίσταται ἐπισκόπος. This was the only Synod in the East that prohibited Bishops to be made in Villages; and no wonder, since in those parts of *Asia*, where the authority of the Synod reached, there were so many Cities, and so close together, that there seemed no need of any in Hamlets; and indeed the Prohibition was understood of lesser Villages, so the Latin Version in *Crab. l. 1. p. 380.* *quod non oporteat in Villulis vel in agris constitui Episcopus*, or as *Leo* hath it, in *Viculis*, *Epist. 85. c. 2.* In *Zonaras* it is such places ἐνθα καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, when not enough to make a good Congregation, in *Con. Laod. 57.* Elsewhere he observes, that it was not needfull there should be great multitudes, but μικραὶ παροικίαι καὶ ἡ πολυπληθεὶς, might have Bishops, and they were allowed ἐν ταῖς παροικίαις ἢ γὰρ ταῖς μικραῖς ἐνοκίαις, in little Parishes with the consent of him who had the chief Seat; so he in *Con. 61. Carth.* Those mentioned by *Nazian.*

Nazianzen and *Basil* were made in the next Diocels after this Decree, and so in other places; so that this Canon was either thus understood, or not regarded, or counted not worthy of observation.

However Bishops that were in such Countrey places before this Synod, the words of the Canon are plain for it (*ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς πρεσβυτέρους, οὗτοι οὗτοι οὗτοι*, those who are before this already made Bishops in Villages and Countrey Seats) nor does that which follows degrade them, injoyning them *μὴν πρεσβυτέρῳ ἀνευ γνῶμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει*, no more than the Provincial Bishops were degraded by being obliged to do nothing without him, who had his Church in the Metropolis, *C. Antioch. c. 9.* nor he, by being injoynd to do nothing without them, *ἀνευ τῆς πᾶν κοινοῦ γνῶμης*.

For *Europe* and the more Eastern parts of it, not to insist on particular instances, (such as *Melanicus* a Castle in *Cedrenus*, and *Tzurulum* in *Zonaras*, and *Besi* or *Bizia* and *Macroatichos* in *Amilius Probas*, and *Diabolis* a Castle in *Macedon* as *Nicephorus*, and *Alalcomene* no great Village of *Beotia* in *Pausanias*, and *Cenchrea* a Bishop's seat in *Clem. Constit. l. 7. c. 48.* as the rest are in others. That which is alledged against this practice will be a sufficient

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proof of it; viz. the Council of *Sardica* held in those parts, and the only Synod in *Europe* for six hundred years after Christ, that did forbid the making of Bishops in some small Towns and Villages, if so be it can be counted a prohibition: for however it is in the Greek, yet in the Latin which is the Original, the restraint is laid upon foreign Bishops, that they shall not erect such Bishopricks in another Province which is not their own, and into which they are occasionally sent, see *Crab. tom. 1. p. 331*. So it runs in the Greek copies (tho it was not received by the Greeks in *Photius's* time, if we may believe him, nor known in *Africa* to *Augustin* otherwise than as a convention of *Arians*, (*contra Crescon. l. 34. and epist. 163.*) *μη ἐξεῖναι ἀπλῶς καθιστᾶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν κώμῃ πρὶ ἢ ἑσθλῇ πόλει* They except such places where there had been Bishops already, and forbid it to none for the future but such for which one Presbyter was sufficient (and it was less than an ordinary Parish for which they then thought one Presbyter sufficient.) In *Leo's* words there was to be none in *viculis & possessionibus vel obscuris & solitariis municipiis*, *epist. 85. c. 2.* in Hamlets and Countrey Farms or obscure and

* Every place that had 12. families, was to have a Rector, as is decreed by this Synod.

and uninhabited Towns. And so there is room enough left for Bishops in large and populous Villages. However hereby they signifie sufficiently, that it was usual before this to have Bishops in small places. For according to *Justinian's* rule founded upon the Wisdom of ancient Lawgivers: τὸ πανίως γινόμενον (καθὰ καὶ ἡ παλαιὰ λέγει σοφία) ὡς τῆρᾶσιν οἱ νομοθεῖται, ἀλλὰ τὸ γινόμενον ὡς ἐπίπαν καὶ ὁρᾶται καὶ θεωρεῖται, *Novel. 94. c. 2.*

In *Creet* they tell us (more than once) there were a hundred Bishops; no fewer Suffragans must their Metropolitan *Titus* have under him, when inthronized there by the Apostle; yet *Pliny* who writ in *Vespasian's* time, a little after the Apostles death, found but forty Cities there (only the memory of sixty more); and *Ptolemy* gives an account of the same number. So that the far greatest part of *Titus's* Suffragans, must have their Thrones in Countrey Villages; and the most of the forty called Cities were little better than Villages. *Strabo* says, *Creet* had πλείους πόλεις, l. 10. p. 328. but only three of any great note (and one of those three lost its greatness before *Titus* knew it) It's most like to be true which *Julius Scaliger* makes their Character,

*Centum olim cinctus operosis manibus urbes
 Reddidit ad paucas imperiosa dies.
 Oppida parva tamen reor illa fuisse, sed aucta
 Quod deest ex reliquis Candia sola refert.*

*In Provincia & ditione Romana semel
 hoc loco indicasse suffecerit, oppida episcopali dig-
 nitate cohonestata quantumvis exigua ab Ita-
 lis juxta stylum & phrasim Curie Romanae
 Civitates nuncupari; reliqua vero ista dig-
 nitate carentia non nisi castella vel oppida nomi-
 nari.*

In Italy it is known that almost every Petit Town has a Bishop; and I cannot discover that there are more Bishops now there, than of old, in that called in special the Roman Province, there are now fewer by many than antiently, as, *Miræus* tells us, is evident, by comparing the old Provincial Code with the new, *notit. episc. l. 4. p. 160, 161.* and all the new erections that I can find (discounting those which are upon old foundations) amount not to the number of those which are either dissolved or united. And if that was the mode of other Writers, to call every place a City which had a Bishop, we need not wonder if they discover to us no more Bishops in Villages; we must go to some other

other Author to know of what quality the place was, not to him who calling it an episcopal seat, is obliged to style it a City, though it was otherwise nothing better than a Village.

It is true those small Towns (that dioceses which had but five hundred souls in it was not the meanest of them) though no better than Villages or our Countrey Towns, pass under the names of Cities; but that is because every place which had a Bishop was called a City upon that account, though it had nothing else to make it a City, but meerly its being made a Bishop's seat, as *Miræus* informs us, l. 5. p. 297.

In *Spain* the twelfth Council of *Toledo*, (4. *Tom. Conc.* 2. p. 420.) takes notice of one made a Bishop in *Monasterio villula*, another in *suburbio Toletano in Ecclesia Prætorienſi Sanctorum Petri & Pauli*, and of others in *aliis vicis & villulis similiter*. It's true the Bishops there allow it not (tho' such Ordinations might be better justified than their Consecration of *Eringius* in the place of *Wamba*, considering by what means he supplanted him; and they were approved while *Wamba* had the throne) but order it otherwise for the future, yet there is no mention of displacing any, but

only of *Convildus* who was made Bishop in the Monastery; but in this they were singular, since Bishops were allowed in Monasteries both before this Synod and after. And so these also will be a proof of the question in hand, since Monasteries were parts of a Diocess, and also generally less than Villages, let me give some instances hereof.

Barses and *Eulogius* had a Monastery for their Diocess, no City nor Territory, ἐπισκοποι ἢ πόλεις ἢ τὸς, as *Sozomen* tells us, but χειροτονήντες ἐν ταῖς ἐκείναις μοναστείαις, l. 6. c. 34. p. 402. And one *Lazarus* also ἐν τῷ πον καὶ Λαζαρίῳ, id *ibid*.

To whom we may add those Monasticks which *Epiphanius* speaks of, one of them a Bishop in the Desart of *Egypt*, the other in Mount *Sinai*, ἐπισκόπων δεξιόμενοι χειροτονίαν, καὶ καθιδύειν καὶ τὰ ἐπισκόπων περὶ τὴν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπιχειρῶν, *exposit. fidei*, p. 1095.

In the Council of *Chalcedon*, act. 3. we meet with *Helpidius* a Bishop *Thermensis Monasterii* who gave his suffrage amongst the rest, for the deposing of *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, Co. to. 1. p. 851. and the same person or another of his name and title subscribes amongst other Bishops in the 6. Oecumen. Synod under *Symmachus*. *Elpidius Thermensis monasterii*, in *Crab*, p. 1026.

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In *Theodorus Lector*, Collect. l. 2. *Timotheus* of C. P. ordains a Bishop in the Monastery of *Studita* after the decease of another who presided there, τὸ ἡγούμενον τῆς μονῆς στυδίτας τελευταίου, ἀπῆλθε πρῶτος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον, περιελάμβανεν ἐπίσκοπον, p. 188. In Spain it self *Dumium* is an episcopal seat, *locus episcopalis in Hispania*, says *Ortelius*, adding, *Japius ejus meminit ex conciliis, moralis*.

Monasterium est apud Isidorum & Honorium unde Martinus Episcopus (qui scripsit de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus) oriundus. He tells us also of *Hadrian* Bishop of *Niridanum* a Monastery near Naples.

In *Brittain* there were commonly Bishops in *Monasteries*, and such too as were in Subjection to the Abbot of the Convent (tho' but a Presbyter) as appears by the Synod of *Hereford*, C. 4. *Ut Episcopi Monachi non migrent de loco in locum, hoc est de Monasterio in Monasterium, nisi per dimissionem proprii Abbatis, sed in ea permanent obedientia, quam tempore sue conversionis promiserant*, Spelm. p. 155. *Beda*, l. 4. c. 5. And this is one of the Constitutions they made in observance of what was determined by the *Canons of the Fathers*, quæ definierunt stare *Canones Patrum*, as *Theodorus*, who presided there, shews in the preface.

For the rest, in general, *Rabanus Maurus* says, tho' there were fewer Bishops at first, *tempore vero promovente non solum per Civitates ordinati sunt, at (for sed) per singula loca in quibus nec adeo necessitas flagitabat, in Tom. 4. 14.*

And so let us come nearer home. I need not tell you how few Cities there are in *Ireland*, yet Primate *Usher* tells us out of *Nemius* that Saint *Patrick* founded there 365. Churches and as many Bishops.

Afterward the number increased *multiplicabantur Episcopi*, says *Bernard*, so that when *Malachias* went into *Ireland*, (near 600. years after *Patrick*) *An. 1150. Unus Episcopatus uno non esset contentus Episcopo, sed singula pene ecclesie singulos haberent Episcopos.* Bishops were so multiplyed that one Diocess was not content with one Bishop, but almost every Parish Church had its Bishop. *Bernard vit. Malach.*

Yea there was not only one Bishop in such a little precinct, but more than one, not only in Cities but even in Villages, as *Lanfranc* writes to *Terlagh* then King in *Ireland*, *in villis vel Civitatibus plures ordinantur*, *Baron. ad an. 1089. n. 16. Ush. Reliq. of Irish. c. 8. p. 79.*

And their Revenue was answerable, since some of them, as *Dr. Heylin* tells us,

us, had no other than the Pasture of two milch-beasts, *Cosmogr.* p. 342.

Pass we to *Africa*. There some (better acquainted with the state of the ancient Church, than those who have the confidence to tell us, that Bishops of old were only ordained in great Cities, *J. T.* 304.) acknowledge, *Bishops were so plentiful, that every good Village must needs be the Seat of an Episcopal Church.* *H. Thornd.* *Right of Churches, review,* p. 53.

I need not stand to prove that which is too evident to be either denied or concealed; only this in brief: In five of the Provinces of the *African* Diocess, *Byzaccena*, *Zeugitana*, *Numidia*, *Mauritania Casariensis* and *Sitifensis*, there were in *Augustine's* time near 900. Bishopricks, taking those of the *Donatists* into the account, which we have reason to do, since the *Catholicks* decreed, that when the *Donatists* were reduced, those places amongst them which had Bishops, should continue to be Episcopal seats, (*sane ut illæ plebes quæ conversæ sunt à Donatistis, & habuerunt Episcopos, sine dubio, inconsulto Concilio, habere mereantur,*) *Cod. Afric. c. 99. vid. Augustin. de gestis cum Emerit. Tom. 7. p. 781, 782.*

S. Augustin in his brief relation of the conference of *Carthage* gives an account of
near

near 500 Bishops of his side: for he says, the names of 285. were recited, twenty subscribed not, *suam tamen exhibentes presentiam*; 120. were absent, *quidam eorum senectute, quidam infirmitate, quidam diversis necessitatibus impediti*; sixty Episcopal Seats were vacant, *sexaginta quibus successione Episcopi nondum fuerunt ordinati*, brevis Collat. primæ diei. And he denies not, but in the conference the Donatist Bishops were about 400. elsewhere he makes their number more. For he says the Maximinians were condemned in Council by 310. Bishops of the other faction, *damnaverunt in Concilio suo Maximinianas trecenti decem Episcopi Donatistæ*, contr. epist. Parmen. p. 23. l. 1. And 100. Bishops of Maximinianus's party condemned, Primianus, id. ibid. p. 15. vid. de gest. cum Emorit. p. 785. & contra Donat. Post. Collat. c. 30. & contra Crescon. l. 4. c. 6. So that the Donatists were not out, *plusquam quadringentos per totam Africam se esse jactantes*, Contr. Donat. post. Coll. C. 24.

You see there wanted few if any of 900 Bishops in this Province; but I cannot discover Cities there which will make a fourth part of the number. Strabo having named about thirty, and divers of them destroyed before his time, having pursued his

his discovery to the lesser *Syrtis*, concludes it thus, πολλὰ δ' εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι μεταξὺ πλίνχται ἐκ αἰτίας μυῖαι, l. 17. p. 574.

After *Augustine's* death, and the invasion of the Countrey by the *Vandals*, the *Africans* continued their ancient Custom, notwithstanding any novel restraint, and made Bishops (as appears by *Leo's* Epistle to the Bishops of *Mauretania*) in quibuslibet locis, in quibuslibet Castellis, — Ubi minores plebes, minores conventus, where *Presbyterorum cura suffecerit* — in viculis possessionibus, vel obscuris & solitariis municipiis, which *Postitutus* one of those Bishops liked not, quod nunc in sua Diœcesi Postitutus Episcopus factum esse censatus est. Epist. 85. c. 2.

So that they were not only large Villages which the *Africans* thought capable of Bishops. Besides what *Leo* says, *Gennadius* amongst his illustrious Persons, mentions one *Asclepius Afer* in *Baiensi territorio vici non grandis Episcopus*. Catal. illustr. Vir. in *Jerom.* tom. 9. p. 183.

Obj. It is said, Tho' the Town was small where a Bishop had his Seat, yet the Diocess might be large and extended, and too great for a hundred Parish-priests. And you have an instance of it in *Asclepius*, whose Chair was in a Village, but yet he was *Vagensis territorii Episcopus*, as *Johan.*

de

de Trittenham, descript. Eccles. his Diocel was that whole Territory. 33. l. 2. c. 7 p. 133. *T. T.* 305.

Ans. They tell us indeed, the Diocel was I know not how large, when the Town was small; but we must take their word for this, we never yet could see any proof, any instance of a small Village, that had so extended a Territory under one Bishop. This is the onely instance that we have met with, to give any colour to their assertion; yet this is a great mistake either in them or their Author. *Trittenham* wrote after *Gennadius*, many hundred years, *Ann.* 1500; it is easie to discern which should have most regard. *Gennadius* says, This small Village was in *Baiensis territorio* (where it is like (as elsewhere) there were divers Villages beside); he says not that it was the territory of that Village, or that he was *Baiensis territorii Episcopus*. They or *Trittenham* (I have him not at hand to tell which) change both the word, and the form of the expression, and say he was *Vagensis territorii Episcopus*. But suppose for once, the Copy deserves more credit than the Original. Let *Vaga* (as they would have it) be this *vicus non grandis*, and *Asclepius* Bishop both of the Village and its territory, what shadow of proof have they from *Trittenham*

tenham or any other, that this territory was larger than that of an ordinary Village? It's true, Villages had *ἐνορίας*, their territories. *Zonaras* tells us there were *μεγίσται ἢ ἐνορία*, of several sizes, *μεζόνες* and *μικραί*. And the small *ἢ πολυπληθεῖς*, not populous, are divided *εἰς ἀγροικαὺς καὶ ἐγχωεῖς*, then each of them described, *ἀγροικαὶ φασὶν εἶναι τὰς ἐν ἐσχάταις κημέναις καὶ ὀλίγας ἔχουσαι ἐν αὐταῖς οἰκῶντας ἅς καὶ μονοίκια λέγονται· ἐγχωεῖς δὲ τὰς ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας πλησιάζοντας, καὶ πλείονας τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἔχοντας, in Can. 17. Chalced.*

Since it was but a small Village, or no great one, the territory was like that of Villages which were not great, and so *inter μικράς*, choose which of them you please.

CAP. III.

Come we to their Cities, those far the most of them (*viz.* those that were very little, and those that were not great) were but for their largeness like our Villages or Market-Towns.

Πόλις is not only a great Town, but sometimes a Village, frequently a place no greater than Countrey Towns with us; yea many less than some of ours, have the Name,

Name, and are called πόλεις Cities! For such, the word is used commonly both in *Scripture* and other Authors. City, *Luke* 10. 8. is not only City, but Town, *Matth* 10. 11. *Acts* 15. 21. City there is, *Matth* 9. 35. not only Cities but Villages. πόλεις, *Luke* 4. 33. are κομποπόλεις chief Villages, *Mark* 1. 38. So *Bethlehem* is πόλις Δαβίδ, *Luke* 2. 4. the City of *David*, but no other than κομμη, *John* 7. 42. which *Epiphanius* takes notice of, and says in one ἡλεῖται πόλις τοῦ Δαβίδ, in the other, κομμη αὐτὴν ἡλεῖται, and gives this reason for it, because it was reduced to small compass, and had very few inhabitants. *Her.* 51.

Many instances might be given in the *Old Testament*, take but two or three, *Josh* 15. there are thirty eight Towns enumerated and called Cities, *vers.* 21. yet all the Cities are said to be but twenty nine, *v.* 32. *Masius* and other Expositors remove the difficulty thus, the rest of the Towns tho' called Cities, were but Villages. *Ceteræ villæ aut Pagi.* So *Josh.* 19. there are twenty three places reckoned by Name and called Cities, yet *v.* 38. there are said to be but nineteen Cities; they resolve it as the former, *alia erant nomina vicorum obscuriorum.* So *v.* 6. there are four called Cities, yet those in the *1 Chron.* 4. 32. are

! For are **קָצָרִים**; in the vulgar Translation *vill-*
 Le, in the *seventy two*, **κώμαι**, and in that
 verse they are called **כָּרִים** both Cities and
 Villages, so frequently elsewhere, see *Pag-*
nin. Verb קָצָר.

For other Authors *Strabo* says, that those
 who did account of more than a thousand
 Cities in *Spain* gave the name of Cities
 to great Villages, *τὰς μεγάλαις κώμας πόλεις ἐνο-*
μαζοντες, l. 3. p. 112. And when *Polybius*
 writes that *Tiberius Gracchus* ruined three
 hundred Cities in part of *Spain*, *Possidoni-*
us says, that Cities were called Castles
 by him, *τὰς πύργους καλεῖνται πόλεις*; *Strabo* agrees
 with him. And *Casaubon* observes, that
 Historians often do so, *Turres saepe ab hi-*
storiarum Scriptoribus urbium appellatione ho-
nestari, as Cities are often by Poets called
πύργους, from whence he derives *burgus*.

Ptolomy calls *Avarum* *πῶλιν ἢ κώμην μεσόγειον*,
Geogr. l. 5. c. 17. In *Josephus*, *Bethsura* is
 called a City, *πόλις, l. 12. Jud. c. 13. p.*
416. but in the page before it is only
κώμη. And *Justinian* says of *Pityus* and *Se-*
bastopolis reckon'd among the Cities in that
 part of *Pontus* called *Polemoniacus ἐν φρεσί-*
οις μάλλον ἀειθμητέον ἢ πόλιν, Novel. 28.

And as *πόλις* is often used for a Village
 or a Castle, so very commonly for a small
 Town. Bishop *Bilson*, *perpet. government,*
c. 14.

c. 14. tells us, as Doctor *Field* also, l. 5. c. 27. that the Apostle would have the City and places near adjoyning to make but one Church, and that herein they proposed the *Jews* as their exemplar, who had their Synagogues in Cities, *Acts* 15. 21. Now in what places the *Jews* had their Synagogues (if it were not plain, *Matth.* 9. 35. that they were far from being always great Cities) will appear by the Seats of their Consistories! In Cities of less than sixscore families, they placed the Consistories of *three*; in Cities of more than a hundred and twenty families, the Courts of *twenty three*, vid. *Maimonides in Sanedrim*, c. 1. Sec. 5. and *Selden de syn.* l. 2. c. 5. And it is well known, that many of our Countrey Towns with their Precincts have more than a hundred and twenty families, and our lesser Villages are as great as the Cities in the lower account.

In other places where we meet with Cities exceeding numerous, many very small Towns pass under the Name of Cities.

In *Egypt* *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of three thousand Cities. Not to take notice of more than six times as many which, *Pliny* says, were sometime in the *Delta*. In the Tribe of *Juda* one hundred and fourteen Cities,
in

in half the Tribe of *Manasseh* 60. and in the other Tribes proportionably. In *Creet* there were 100. therefore called *Hecatompolis*, and so was *Laconica* called for the same reason, *Strab.* l. 8. because it had sometime 100 Cities in it; it was but in the whole a seventh part of *Peloponesus*, the *Peninsula* being but 170. miles, or 1400. furlongs in length and breadth, as *Strabo*, and 4000 furlongs in circumference, as *Polybius*. *Paulus Æmilius* destroyed seventy Cities in *Epirus*, as *Livy*, dec. 5. l. 5. and this was most in one quarter of *Epirus*, as *Strabo* tells us. About the lake called *Pontina* in the ancient *Latium*, one of the seventeen Provinces belonging to *Italy*, *Pliny* says, there were twenty three Cities, which are more now than in all *England*. *Agrippa* in *Josephus* speaks of near twelve hundred Cities in *Gallia* kept in Subjection by 1200 Soldiers, when their Cities are well nigh more in number, *de bell. Jud.* l. 2. c. 16.

Instances might be multiplied of Cities that were but like our Market Towns, or no larger than Villages. Cities they had of old little bigger than some Houses, as that which *Nero* in *Suetonius*, *Auream nominavit*, l. 31. the buildings about his Fish-ponds were like Cities, says that Hi-

E

storian

storian, *circumseptum edificiis ad urbium speciem*, in *Nero*. Yea long before they came to the magnificence or excess of *Nero*, and were content with less buildings, yet amongst those they had divers comparable to Cities. In *Salust*'s time, *Domos*, says he, *atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum edificatas*. And afterwards some private houses exceeded the dimensions of Cities, so in *Seneca*'s time, and complaint, *O miserum si quem delectet* -- *edificia privata laxitatem urbium magnatum vincentia*, de *benefic. l. 7. c. 10*. And yet they counted it an excessive great house which took up above four acres, as would seem by that of *Valerius Maximus*, *Angustè se habitare putat cujus domus tantum patet quantum Cincinnati rura patuerunt*, when three (as he had said before) of his seven acres were gone.

Emporia a City of the Greeks in *Spain*, was less then half a Mile in compass by *Livy*'s account, *totum orbem muri 400 passus patentem habebat*, dec. 4. l. 4. the whole compass of the wall was but 400 paces. *Phaselis* an Episcopal City in *Pamphilia* contained not so many Souls as *Pompy*'s Ship (when in his flight after *Cæsars* victory a small company and Vessel was counted his security) if we believe *Lucan*, l. 8.

*Te primum parva Phaselis,
Magnus adit, nec te metui vetat incola, raras
Exhaustæque domus populis majorque carinæ
Quam tua turba fuit.*

Cucusus a City (the civility of whose Bishop *Chrysostom* when he was there banished commends) was not so good as a Market Town, *μὴτὲ ἀγορὴν, μὴτὲ ὄμιον ἔχει ἢ πόλιν*, *Chryf. Epist.* 13. And *Safima*, where *Nazianzen* refused a Bishoprick, was no better, if you will believe his Character of it, tho' it pass for a City; he counted it but *angustam villulam*. *Arodus* in *Strabo*, and *Antaradus* in *Pliny*, were Cities of seven furlongs; the whole Island of *Aradus* was no larger, not so great as many of our Countrey Towns. *Nazianzum*, where his Father was Bishop, and from whence himself is denominated, did not much exceed it, being *πέλις εὐτελής* in *Socrates, hist. libr.* 4. c. 10. *μικρὴ* in *Sozomen*, l. 6. c. 16.

To proceed more distinctly, for better satisfaction herein; (where a little observation might prevent great and common mistakes about ancient Bishopricks) There were Cities of several sorts and dimensions; those that were six furlongs in compass or

under are called πόλεις μικραὶ. such were *Paanium* in *Aetolia*, a City, but not great, says *Polybius*, being less in circumference than seven furlongs, ἑλκττον γὰρ ἢν ἑπτὰ σταδίων, l. 4. p. 329. Those which had above six furlongs in circuit, to twelve or thereabouts pass as πόλεις μετρίαι, not very little or great, but of an indifferent size; so *Antioch* upon *Meander* is μετρία πόλις, in *Strab.* l. 13. Such was *Jessus* in *Polybius*, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν δέκα στάδια, l. 16. p. 731. Those which had sixteen furlongs in circumference, or near it, and so upward, were counted great Cities, πόλεις μεγάλαι: for some of their prime Cities, (the Metropolies of Countreys well stored with Cities,) were no bigger. *Nice* is, in *Strabo*, the Metropolis of *Bithynia*, and so it was in *Ammianus Marcellinus's* time, long after, l. 26. c. 1. yet it was but sixteen furlongs in compass, ἑκαταδυστάδιος ὁ πεδῶλος, *Strab.* l. 12. No larger was *Famagusta*, the chief City in *Cyprus*, built in the place of *Constantia*, the ancient Metropolis of that Island, *Sanders Trav.* p. 219. About that bigness was the great and famous *Tyre* of old, before it was taken by *Alexander*: for he having joyned it to the Continent, and upon its recovery not content with its ancient bounds, had much enlarged it, yet was it but

but 22 furlongs in compass, as *Pliny*, l. 5. c. 19. And *Sydon* was of the like size, *Tyre* being ἐνάμιλλος αὐτῇ καὶ μεγέθος, *Strab.* l. 16. *New Carthage*, the principal City in *Spain* while the *Carthaginians* bore sway there, was but twenty furlongs in compass when largest; it might be less than sixteen when contracted, as *Polybius* not long after its erection, says it was, l. 3. p. 109.

Consequently their lesser Cities were but like ordinary Villages, we have many as large, not less than four or five furlongs in circuit. Their middle sort of Cities were answerable to our Market Towns or Burroughs (we have some that may compare with their great Cities) or like their larger Villages, such as *Justinian* noted in *Pisidia*, Novel. 24. and in *Lycaonia*, Novel. 25. Such were *Lydda* in *Palestine*, καὶ μὴν πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ ἀποδείξεως, as *Josephus* reports it, *Antiq.* l. 20. c. 5. p. 692. or like their χωμοπόλεις, as *Amorea*, in *Strabo* l. 12.

Those Villages by being walled, or having δῖπλα τῆς πόλεως, priviledges of Cities granted them, became Cities without further enlargement. And so this sort of Cities (far the most numerous) were but walled or priviledged Villages; therefore (to note this by the way) they that grant Bishops to have been in those Cities, (which

who will deny? whereas few else in comparison had Bishops besides those,) leave themselves without reason to deny Bishops to Villages; unless a wall or something as inconsiderable could be a reason, why one should be capable of them, and the other not.

Bethlega, a Village so called by *Josephus*, but *Jonathan* having walled it, immediately after he called it a City, *Antiq. Jud. l. 13. c. 1. p. 429.* *Armena* in *Paphlagonia* was an unwalled place, till the Inhabitants in their Wisdom incompassed it with a wall to keep them warmer, and that may be the reason why to *Strabo*, *Ptolomy* and *Stephanus* it is a Village, to *Pomponius Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, it is a City, as *Ortelius* observes. So *Maïuma* the Port of *Gaza* being honoured with the privilege of a City, for its forwardness in the Christian Profession, of a Village became a City, says *Sozomen*; but being deprived of the privileges by *Julian*, it was turned again into a Village, *l. 5. c. 5.* And the difference being no more betwixt these, that may be the reason why the same place by divers writers is called both a City and a Village. *Cenchrea* to *Stephanus* is a City, to others a Village, *Strabo. l. 8.* Yea this is sometimes done by the same Author;

as *Strabo* calls *Nelias* and many other Towns both Cities and Villages in the space of three or four lines, l. 9. p. 863. And sometimes both words are joyned in one, and one place hath both names at once, and is called *κωμοπόλις*, a Village-City, a City because it wants not the bigness of this sort of lesser Cities; and a Village because it is not walled or privileged as Cities use to be.

That there were and ought to have been Bishops in small Cities, if it be not evident already, may be further manifest divers ways. There are particular Instances of it, and great numbers might be produced, but I will but instance in few Episcopal seats, which were either very small or not great. *Abidus* is *parva habitatio*, in *Strabo*. l. 17. *Tanis* is *πολίχνη* in *Joseph. de bello. Jud.* p. 903. *Geras* πόλις μικρά, in *Sozomen.* l. 8. c. 19. *Ascalon* is πόλις ἡ μικρά, *Strabo*. l. 16. *Joppa* and *Dora* are *πορτοῦνὰ πικρὰ*, little Port Towns in *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 14. *Doliche* is *πολίχνη μικρά*, in *Theodoret.* *Cyrra* is *πολίχνη* in *Stephanus*, Bishop of it in the Council of *Nice.* *Hellenopolis*, *Basynopolis* and *Petraea*, in *Lazica*, Villages turned into Cities, one by *Constantine*, the other by *Julian*, the third by *Justinian.* *Zeugma* a little Town, in *Cicero*, *Hypepe*, of which *Ovid*,

Sardibus hinc illinc parvis venit Hypepis.

with many others.

It is taken for a Rule, that where there was a *Defensor Civitatis*, there was a Bishop; but *Justinian* appoints such a *Defensor*, which he calls *ἐκδικος*, in every City, injoyning the Presidents of the Provinces to prepare such Officers, καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει, *Novel 15.* and expressly not only of the great Cities, but in the less, appointing what they should have for every decree; in a great City more, in a less City less; and there is a Law in the *Code*, that every City should have a Bishop. So it was decreed by *Leo* and *Anthemius*, ἐν ἑκαστῇ πόλει ἴδιον ἐπίσκοπον ἐξέτω, without exception of little or great, but only two, *Tomis* and *Leontopolis* (which afterwards had its Bishop, and *Tomis* before) so that none but these two being exempted, the privilege in *Europa* a part of *Thrace*, for one to be Bishop of two Cities, (which found some Advocates in the Council at *Ephesus*, *Acts 7.*) was not now continued, otherwise the four Cities there mentioned would have been within the exemption.

The Ancients who understand Bishops
by

by the Apostles Presbyters, *Tit. i.* understand also the Apostles order to reach every City, without exception of small or great, so *Chrysostom. i Tom. Homil. i.* κατὰ πόλιν, is with him καὶ ἐκάστην πόλιν, p. 286. and so again, p. 287. and *Theophylact* after him.

The ancient practice was answerable, in *Cyprian. Epist. 52. Jampridem per omnes provincias & singulas urbes instituti sunt Episcopi*; since in all the Provinces and every of the Cities Bishops were instituted. And *Origen* says, this was done too ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει, *Orig. contr. Cels. lib. 8. pag. 428.* It is true, there was none in some lesser Cities; but there were none also in some greater; the reason was, not the smallness of the place (as appears by their making Bishops in Villages) but the want of Christians.

This premised, we may best judge of the Apostles meaning by the import of the phrase; He would have a Bishop κατὰ πόλιν in each City, say the ancient Greek *Expositors*; in every City, say our *Translators*; in each of the Cities of *Creet*, say our learned *Prelatists*, not one of the hundred supposed Cities there excepted. Now the word πόλις (and what is equivalent to it) is, we see, used by the best Authors,

thors, sacred and prophane, to denote both a City and a Village. And so much ground we have to conclude, that the Apostle would have such Bishops (as were then instituted) not only in Cities but in Villages. However it cannot with any reason be questioned, but that the Apostolical intention was for Bishops in places, no larger than our Burroughs or Market Towns (since their middle sort of Cities, were but such as these for largeness or populousness): yea in places no greater than ordinary Villages, seeing their lesser Cities were but of the bigness of these; and consequently that they designed the Bishop to be generally no more than the Rector of a Countrey Parish, and his Diocess commonly no larger than the circuit of a Countrey Town or Village; this was to be their ordinary stint, because these two sorts of Cities (such as were either *little* or *not great*) were commonly to be their *Sees*, and no other, but rarely; these being so very numerous, that Cities which were *great*, were rare and few in comparison, as might be further shewed by many instances. *Campania* in *Italy* was a Region ennobled with Cities, being there so thick set, as they seemed to be one continued Town, *μᾶς πόλεως ὄντιν*

παρέχοντας, *Strab.* l. 5. and yet all were but little Towns, besides *Capua* and *Tianum*, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πλίκνια, p. 172. So in *Laconia*, where were anciently a hundred Cities, in that Geographers time but thirty, and all small Towns but *Sparta*. The Kingdom of *Eumenes* left him by his Father in a part of *Asia*, (as well stored with Cities as any in the World) besides *Pergamus* the Metropolis, consisted but of such places, as *Polybius* in *Suidas* calls ἀπὸ πόλεων μάλιστα.

To adde no more, *Creet* is the most pertinent instance, seeing the text al-leadged concerns that Island, and the Patrons of Episcopacy make it the measure and pattern to other Countreys for the Ordering of Bishops. We are often told, that when *Titus* was there it had a hundred Cities*, and that by the

* *B. H.* Episc. by Div. right. *Creet*, a populous Island, and stored with no less than a hundred Cities, whence it had the name of ἐκ αὐτῆς πόλεως. *D. H.* Vind. p. 116. *Titus*—A whole Island which had a hundred Cities in it, and was there placed that he might ordain Bishops under him in each of those Cities, p. 100. In *Creet* there was certainly many Cities, *Eusebius* mentions a hundred, of all which he was made Bishop, that under him he might ordain Bishops.

Apostles appointment he was to ordain as many

many Bishops there. Now *Strabo* who wrote immediately before (*viz.* in *Tiberius* Reign) finds but three very great Cities, *Cnossus*, *Gortyna* and *Cydonia*, i. e. and *Cnossus* then shrunk into a little Town, not six besides these thought worthy by him to be named; the rest must either be very little, or not great, either like Villages or our fairer Countrey Towns. Such Diocesses as these can afford, they must be content with commonly, who will be regulated by any intention of the Apostle discoverable in this place.

For one Bishop in a great City, there was ten, sometimes twenty, sometimes more in these lesser Towns; and more there had been, if the ambition of following ages had not, with a *non obstante* to the Apostles rule, judged a small place unbeseeming the honour and greatness of a Bishop. Hence some places were waved as too little to be Bishopricks; and in some such places where they had been settled they were extinguished; and in other places they were united. So *Phulla* was united with *Sugdea*, and *Sotyriopolis* with *Alama*, as *Callistus* tells us; and too many to be specified in other parts: Let one instance suffice. In *Sarainia* the many

ny Bishopricks sometimes there, were reduced to seven; the Bishoprick of *Bisaris* being joyned to that of *Olgarium*, *Sa. Justa* to *Arborea*, *Phausania* to *Emporea*, that of *Turris Libyssonis* to *Sassar*, that of *Turris Alba* to *Eufellis*, and no less than four or five to *Calaris*. And by such means as these forementioned, *Ireland* which had three hundred sixty three Bishopricks about *Ann. 431*. the number of which was still increasing till the thirteenth Age, came in time to have but fifty, afterwards thirty five, and now but nineteen. Yea in *Italy*, where Bishops are yet so numerous, there have been many Bishopricks extinguished, and many united, and yet in *Italy every baggage Town hath a Bishop*, saith our learned *Reynolds*.

But this was in the more degenerate and corrupt ages of the Church; there is no Council for many hundred years after Christ, forbids Bishops to be made in the least Cities, but only that of *Sardica*, *Ann. 347*. I will not say, that many of the Bishops there were *Arians*, tho the *Oriental* Prelates present there, shewed themselves immediately after at *Philippopolis*; and the *Arrians* were branded for not being contented with small Bishopricks*.

* *Synod. Epist. in*
Theodor. Hist. l.
2. c. 8. and Julius
in Athan. apol. 2.

ricks *. Nor will I alleadge, that this Synod was of little Authority, not admitted by the *Greeks* into the *Code* till the *Trullan* Council, seven hundred years after Christ, nor by the *Latins* some Ages after it was held, otherwise than the adjoyning of its Decrees to the other Canons by *Dionysius Exiguus*, *Ferrandus* and *Isidorus Mercator*, without any publick Authority for so doing, could be accounted an autoritative admission thereof: Nor by the *Affrican* Churches, who rejected and would not be obliged by its Canons for Appeals to *Rome*. Nor need I say, that this Synod is misunderstood, and that the restraint of making new Bishops in small places, is laid only on Bishops of another Province, and in a case which rarely if ever occurs, (*viz.* when all the Bishops in a Province but one are dead at once) as appears by the Canon immediately preceding, and that Clause in this Canon, *Nec debent illi ex alia Provincia*, &c. There is no necessity to insist upon any thing of this nature, since this Synod both allows Bishops to be continued in any City how small soever, where there was any before, and also to be made *de novo* in any City,

City, for the Pastoral Charge whereof one Presbyter was not sufficient. Now one was not sufficient in the judgment of those times for the Cities we here most insist on, viz. those of an indifferent size, nor in the judgment of present times for divers Market-towns, Parishes, and some Villages with us. Nay, in such Cities it requires Bishops to be made, as being ἀξιῶν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, worthy of a Bishoprick. It would be much for our satisfaction, if we could understand punctually what numbers they thought sufficient for one Presbyter; and we may have the best direction that can be expected in such a case from *Chrysostom*, who affirms that a Cure of one hundred and fifty Souls was thought as much as one Pastour could well, and more than he could without great labour discharge; his words are, *Homil. in Ignat.* ἀσχετόν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι ἀνδρῶν εἰς πενήκοντα περισσεύει μόνον, *It's a very laborious thing for one man to have the charge of a hundred and fifty.* Upon this account one Presbyter was not thought sufficient for a place that contained three or four hundred Inhabitants: And these Fathers would not deny such a Town a Bishop. There are not many more in some *Italian* Bishopricks in this age; the Bishop of *Cappuccio*, when he was concerned to make the

the most of his Flock to the Bishop of *Paris*, at the *Trent* Council, reckoned but five hundred Souls in his Diocess.

Hereby we may judge what numbers were counted competent for an ancient Bishoprick. By the decree of a Council more solicitous for the Honour of Bishops in the largeness of their *Sees*, than we find any Fathers or Councils for several ages after Christ; straiter bounds and fewer people might be sufficient for an Episcopal Diocess, than many of our Countrey Towns can shew, when yet all may and do meet together for Communion. The Canon runs thus, *There shall be no Bishop in a City so small as one Presbyter may be sufficient for it; but if the people be found to grow so numerous in a City, (viz. that one Presbyter is not sufficient for them, as the coherence makes it evident) let there be a Bishop there, as being worthy thereof.* And in all reason this is to be extended to Villages as well as Cities, when the people are as numerous in one as the other. And this Council of *Carthage* decrees it indefinitely; wherever the people are Numerous enough (without limiting this to Cities) if they desire it they shall have a Bishop, with the good will of him that presides
in

in the place, *Con. 2. Can. 5. Dei populum, si multiplicatus desiderabit proprium habere Episcopum, ejus voluntate in cujus potestate est Diæcesis habere Episcopum debere.* In fine, the Canon forbids Bishops to be made only in the least of these Cities we are now speaking of, and these were but few, (as the great Towns were also compared with those of a middle size;) and so it is of little concernment to the business before us, if either *Greeks* or *Latins* had thought themselves concerned to observe it.

However those *Cities*, lesser or greater, the greatest of them being no bigger than Villages with them, and Market Towns with us, there will be no question, but they contained no more than what might meet together for Christian Communion; and these being so many that the number of great Cities was very inconsiderable compared with them; what we assert concerning the smallness of ancient Bishopricks is clear, for incomparably far the greatest number of them.

CAP. IV.

There may be more question about the great Cities, which we shall now consider. Those were counted great Cities which had sixteen or twenty furlongs in compass or thereabout. *Pelusium* a Metropolis of a great part of *Egypt*, was twenty furlongs in circumference, as *Strabo*, l. 17. *Phocæa* one of the greatest Cities in *Æolis* had no more, as *Livie* describes it, 2400 *passuum murus amplectitur*, dec. 4. l. 7. *Sebastæ*, built by *Herod*, designing to make it comparable to the most eminent Cities, was no larger, *ἐξ ὅσων πόλεων, Antiq.* l. 15. c. 11. *Byzantium* was made by *Constantine* as large at least as two great Cities, designing to have it ἀντιπρόσπον τῆς Κωνσταντίας, as *Zos.* tells us, *hist.* l. 2. yet whereas it had been reduced to a Village by *Severus*, as *Herodian* saies, l. 3. the enlargement he gave it was no more than the addition of fifteen furlongs to its former compass, as the said *Zos.* shews, l. 2. p. 62. But hercof we have given instances before.

Such great Cities (seeing the largeness assigned them was thought sufficient to make

make one a Metropolis) they were very few. For whereas there was wont to be but one Metropolis in a Province, yet sometimes in one Province there were twenty or thirty or forty more inferiour Cities under it, (*Cont. Chalced. can. 12.* declares it to be against the Ecclesiastical rules to have two Metropolises in one Province.) *Lesbus* was the Metropolis of thirty Cities, as *Strabo* says, l. 13. In *Phrygia* there were above sixty Cities, yet the same Author mentions but two that were great, *Laodicea* and *Apamea*. In *Laconica* there were thirty Cities in his time (100 before) but all *Opidula*, little Towns, save *Sparta*.

Some of these great Cities had but few inhabitants. *Philadelphia*, (which some will have to be a Metropolis) *Pauci incolunt*, saies *Strabo*, being *στισμῶν πλήρης*, which reason reaches *Sardis*, and *Apamea*, and *Laodicea*, and all the Region near it; likewise *Hierapolis*, *Magnesia*, *Tralles* and all the Cities near *Meander*, which are not few, both in *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*. Vid. *Strab. l. 12. p. 231, 232, 233, 234*. In *Tiberius* reign, twelve famous Cities were destroyed in one night by an Earthquake in those parts, *Tacit. an. l. 2. c. 47*. It's probable *Neccesarea* was not
F 2 very

very populous, considering what *Theodoret* reports of those banished thither by *Valens*, (who was not wont to choose desirable places for the punishment of such) they all died there in a short time through the hardships of the place, saies he, *hist. l. 4. c. 20.* And it is strange if *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* were very populous, since the scituation of it as described by *Strabo*, *l. 12.* was neither safe, nor pleasant, nor fruitfull, nor healthfull, an unwalled Town, no way so accommodated as to attract inhabitants. Of *Heraclea*, one of the most considerable Cities in *Ætolia*, *Livy* tells us, there was a Castle by it, ass well inhabited, *que frequentius prope quam urbs habitabatur*, *dec. 4. l. 6.*

A great City was counted sufficiently populous if it had *six thousand* inhabitants. So *Herod*, ambitious to have *Sebastæ* not inferiour to the most renowned Cities, made it 120 furlongs in compass, and took care that it should have six thousand inhabitants, *Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 16.* *Placentia* and *Cremona* most eminent Cities, had each of them six thousand persons decreed by the *Romans* for their inhabitants, *Symph. Chronol. pt. 5th. p. 112.* Thirty seven Cities yielded to *Alexander* near *Porus* Countrey, some of which

which had five thousand, some ten thousand inhabitants, *Justin.* l. 12. c. 7. *Curtius*, l. 8. c. 20. And that Conquerour building a City near the river *Indus*, which he called (after his own name) *Alexandria*, thought it sufficiently peopled with a thousand persons, *Strab.* l. 15.

So that many of their great Cities contained no more than might come together in one Assembly, as *Capernaum*, Mark 1. 22. *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, Act. 13. 44. and *Cæsarea* in *Mauritania*, and *Synnada* in the lesser *Asia*, of which more afterwards.

As for Cities that were greater and more populous, where the Inhabitants were more than could assemble in one place; yet in them the Christians for some ages, were no more than might so assemble, the inhabitants consisting most of Heathen, with *Jews*, and those of the Christian Profession that were not of the Communion, nor would assemble with the Bishop of the place. I can but meet with one City, small or great, for three hundred years after Christ, whose inhabitants were generally Christians, and that was *Neocaesarea*, of whose conversion *Gregory Thaumaturgus* was the Instrument; he found but seventeen Christians in it, but turned the whole People, ὅλον τὸν λαόν, unto God;

says *Basil*. He knew no more than seventeen that persisted in their old superstition, says *Nyssen. vit. Greg.* But for all this, it appears not that the Christians in that City (which we saw before was not very populous) were more than could meet together in one place: for *Gregory* built no more than one Church there; yet having so much liberty, there being no persecution from his time till *Dioclesian*, and so much encouragement from the peoples zeal and forwardness to assist him, with their persons and purses in that work, (πάντων χρημασι καὶ σώμασι ὑπεργέντων, as *Nyssen* tells us,) he would doubtless have erected more, if more had been needful.

There is another City in *Phrygia*, whose inhabitants are said to have been all Christians, *Euseb. hist. l. 8. c. 25.* and all with the City burnt together; but this was in the fourth Century, in the persecution raised by *Maximianus* about ann. 312. and all these were no more than could meet in one place; they had but one Church, (when being all of one mind they might have had more, if more had been necessary) and that one called *Conventiculum* by *Lactantius*, who thus represents the same thing with *Eusebius*, *Aliqui ad occidendum*

dendum precipites extiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygia qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit, Instit. l. 5. c. 7.

How predominant Heathenism was in the Cities of the Roman Empire before *Constantine*, may be collected from what we find concerning it in and after his reign. If it was spreading and prevalent, when the power of it was by him so much broken, it will be easie to infer what it was before. And that we may afford the greatest advantage to Christianity, let us instance principally in *Palestine* and the Countreys next to it, where the Gospel first moving, may in reason be thought to have made the greatest Progress. *Sozomen* informs us, there were in *Palestine* after *Constantine's* death, both Villages and Cities exceeding Heathenish, *ἀγὰν ἐλλήνιστος, hist. l. 3. c. 13.* Particularly *Gaza, Ascalon, Sebaste*, were much addicted to idols in *Julian's* time, *Theod. hist. l. 3. c. 6.* *Anthedon* also and *Raphea*, *Sozom. l. 5. c. 8. l. 7. c. 15.* And both at *Sebaste* and *Neapolis*, *Jephtha's* Daughter was worshipped as a Goddess, and an annual Holy-day kept in honour of her, as *Epiphanius* tells us, *Her. 55. 78.* All these were Episcopal Cities; and *Gaza* the

greatest in those parts of that Countrey next to *Jerusalem*, stigmatized by all as most heathenish, *Sozom. l. 5. c. 3. Theodor. l. 3. c. 13.* so that *Jerom* styles it *Urbs Gentilium*, and calls the Inhabitants the *Adversaries of God, which insulted over the Church of Christ, vit. Hilarianis.* And *Cesarea* seems not much better, being so forward to comply with *Julian*, *Soz. l. 5. c. 20.* Both that City and *Scythopolis* are noted by *Athanasius* as generally deriders of the mysteries of Christianity, *Epist. ad Serapion.* And if the Heathen in *Jerusalem* were not numerous, how came the Temple of *Venus* to stand there so long, and the Images of *Jupiter* and *Venus* to be worshipped with Sacrifices and Oblations, in such places too as could not but be most intolerable to Christians, the place of Christs Resurrection, and where he was crucified, *Socrat. l. 1. c. 13.* Where the Citizens were generally Christians, they were not wont to endure this, though in more tolerable circumstances. At *Neocæsarea*, *Nyssen* tells us, the Christians there prevailing overturned their Altars, and their Temples, and their Idols, *Vit. Greg.*

• But enough of *Palestine*. We may be briefer with her Neighbours. For *Phœnicia*, that of *Theodore* may serve, who says, they were mad upon their Idols, and Idolatrous

trous rites, hist. l. 5. c. 29. and this observed by *Chrysostom* in *Arcadius's* reign, with which that of *Jerom* agrees, *Phœnicum gentes diabolum pati : l. 2. contra Jovinian.*

Pass we to *Syria*. In *Heliopolis* an eminent City, there was a Bishop in *Constantines* time, *Euseb. vit. Const. l. 3. c. 5, 6.* and yet the Inhabitants were all Idolaters, as *Peter of Alexandria* in *Theodoret* tells us, *hist. l. 4. c. 20.* and τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἑσθὲς, not one of them that would endure to hear the Name of Christ ; so that this Bishop had a smaller Church than *Ischyra*s, who had but seven that assembled with him. *Arethusa* was not much better furnished with Christians, as appears by the universal concurrence of the people, Men, Women and Children, in the torturing of *Marcus* (who had been many years Bishop there) because he would not re-edifie their Idol-temple. *Soz. l. 5. c. 9. Theod. l. 3. c. 6.* At *Apamia* in *Theodosius's* time, (and this was a Metropolis) the multitude was only restrained through fear of the Souldiers, from hindering the demolishing of *Jupiters* Temple, and the Execution of the Emperours Order for that purpose, *Theod. l. 5. c. 21.* The Inhabitants of *Emesa* (another Metropolitcal City) turned the Christian Church newly built, into a Temple for *Bacchus*, in
Julians

Julians time, erecting in it for their Worship a ridiculous Idol, ἀνδρείονον ἄγαλμα, *Theod. l. 3. c. 6.* Nor was this the unhappy temper of some particular places onely, as appears by that of *Sozomen*; both that which is called *Cælosyria*, says he, and the upper *Syria*, except the City of *Antioch*, was long before it came over to Christianity, *l. 6. c. 34.* And at *Antioch* it self, the Heathen in *Valens's* time publickly celebrated the idolatrous Rites, usual in the worship of *Jupiter*, *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, and that in the open street, without fear or shame, in a high rant, *Theod. l. 4. c. 22.* In *Arabia*, *Moses* being sent Bishop there in *Valens's* time, found very few Christians, καὶ οὐκ ὄλίγους, *Soz. l. 6. c. 38.* but how few soever he found, he was more happy in his Diocess than *Miles*, who being Bishop of a City elsewhere, could not perswade one to Christianity, and got nothing from them but blows and wounds. *Soz. l. 2. c. 12.*

And now having viewed all the next neighbours of *Palestine* (and seen their posture towards Christianity) but *Egypt*; let us touch there also. *Memphis* a Metropolitcal City, yet in *Jeroms* time it was the *Metropolis of the Egyptian Superstition*, on *Ezek. 9.* In *Antinoe* there was a Bishop, but he had μάλα ὀλίγους, very few that assembled

bled with him; the reason was, the Inhabitants of the City were Gentiles, *Theod. l. 4. c. 16.* The Island into which the two *Macarii* were banished under *Valens*, was worse peopled; it had not one Inhabitant that was a Christian, says *Socrates, l. 4. c. 19.* But these were remoter parts, and far from the place where Christianity was first embraced, and which had the greatest advantages for propagating it. It may be expected, that the Region nearer *Alexandria* was happier, but it seems not. *Bucolia* a Region near *Alexandria*, in *Ortel.* yet this is *Jerom's* character of it, *In Bucolia nullus est Christianorum, Vit. Hilar.* And that which *Hilary* fixes on the whole Countrey is not much more favourable, *Ægyptus Idolis plena est, & omnigena Deorum Monstra veneratur*: "Egypt is full of Idols, and worships all kind of Monsters for Deities, *Comment. in Matth. c. 1.* Look a little further into *Africa*: *Julius Maternus Formicus*, in *Constantines* time, affirms, that a great part of the *Africans* did worship *Juno* and *Venus*, he means that part of *Africa* then known; and that was it in which the Gospel had found some entertainment; it was best received in the *African* Diocess, yet one of their Councils takes notice, That in most maritime places of *Africa*,

Africa, and other parts thereof, Idolatry was in use, Cod. Afric. Can. 57. The most of their Cities were Maritime, and those usually most populous. And this may be the reason why there was but five Bishopricks in the Province of *Tripolis*, when they were so numerous in some of the other Provinces; and it is suggested by one of their Councils, *Quia interjacere videntur barbaræ Gentēs, Cod. Afric. Can. 44.* "Those parts of the Countrey were taken up with Heathens."

In the *West* but one Instance or two that I may not be tedious. In *Turin* the Heathen were so prevalent, that the Christians there were not suffered to choose a Bishop after *Gratians* decease, *Greg. Turin. l. 10. c. 43.* To offer all the rest in one; in *Rome* it self, in the fourth Century, the Senate, the Nobles and the greatest part of the Commons were given up to Heathenish Superstitions; see the *Centuriators* evidence for it, *cent. 4. p. 1484.* and it is to me very probable, that Religion in few or no great Cities prevailed, at that time, beyond the proportion it did at *Rome*. A little before, it seems, the Christians were but a small part of *Rome*, when with general acclamations the People cryed out, *Christiani tollantur duodecies, Christiani non sint*

sint decies ; and the Tenth Persecution decreed by the Senate upon those clamours, *Baron. ad Ann. 301. Sect. 3.* And long after this, when *Constantine*, after he had been Emperour near twenty years, expressing his detestation of the Heathenish rites used at the Solemnity, for the celebrating of which the Army was wont to go up to the *Capitol*, he thereby incurred the hatred both of the Senate and People of Rome, and was reproached therefore in a manner, *μεγαλὴ μίσσην*, by all the People, as *Zos. l. 2. p. 61.* and the great disaffection of Rome to Christianity, expressed unsufferably, in an universal reviling the Emperour for not complying with their Heathenism, is assigned as the Cause why he thought of transferring the Imperial Seat to another City, as he afterwards did to *Byzantium*, as the same Historian tells us. And long after it appears the people of Rome were generally addicted to heathenish Idolatry, by what *Jerom* observed amongst them in his time, on *Isai. 57.* Rome it self, the Lady of the World, in every of her houses worships the Image of a Tutelar Deity, that all that come or go out of their Houses may be minded of their inveterate Errour.

And this is the first consideration which induces me to believe the Christians were

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no more in great Cities, viz. because the *Heathen* were so many, so they were (as is proved) in the fourth Century, and much more so (as will be granted,) in the ages before.

The *Jews* also were numerous in these Cities; there was no part of the *Roman* Empire without multitudes of them; so *Agrippa* in his Oration, dissuading the *Jews* from war with the *Romans*, as likely to prove, not destructive to them only in *Palestine*, but to their Countrey-men in all Cities through the World, in *Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 16.* and *Strabo*, cited by the same Author, says, they were planted in every City, *Joseph. himself* says as much, *de bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 21.* Thus it was in the Apostles time; *Paul* finds *Jews* and Synagogues every where, and they are mentioned almost in every City where he comes, in *Syria*, in the lesser *Asia*, in *Macedonia*, in *Greece*, in *Italy*; and so they continued in *Augustine's* time, as he declares, *L. contra Epist. Petel.* And *Chrysostom* says, they had their Synagogues in *πᾶσι πόλεσι*, *Demonstr. contr. gent.* More particularly in *Palestine*, though the calamity which befell them under *Vespasian* was unparallel'd, and greater than any Nation under Heaven had suffered, as *Josephus* af-

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firms again and again, *de bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 11.* and that the calamities of all from the beginning, τὰ πάντων ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀτυχήματα, were but small in comparison of that of the Jews; thereby giving a clear Testimony to the Truth of Christs Prediction, *Math. 25.* Yet so far as I can observe, half of the Jews in *Palestine* were not then destroyed. The same Historian gives a punctual account of all that perished in that war, and all the particulars put together amount not to half the number of those that he tells us came to the Passover. And after in *Adrian's* time, they were possessed of above a thousand Towns and Garrisons: for above that number did *Severus* (*Adrians* General) in that expedition take and demolish, as *Dion* relates. And thô, as *Aristo Pelleus*, in *Euseb. l. 4. c. 6.* *Adrian* forbid them any access to *Jerusalem*, (then called by him *Ælia*;) yet, if we believe the Jewish records, they had place in all other Cities of that Countrey: for *Rabbi Judah* took care that there should be Scribes and Teachers of the Traditions in all the Cities of the land of *Israel*; they had their *Sanhedrim* in one City after another, and great Schools in many Towns, *vid. D. L. fall of Jerusalem, Sec. 7, 8.* And in *Constantine's* time they

they possessed *Diocæsarea* (anciently *Se-phōris*) and *Tiberias*, two of the greatest Cities in *Galilee*; *Diospolis* also, and many other Towns, and were so numerous as to raise a war against the Emperour, *Soz. l. 4. c. 6.*

In *Chaldea* there was not a few Myriads of them, says *Josephus*; in *Egypt* a million, says *Philo. Legat. ad Carum*; In *Cyrene* we may conjecture how many they were, by the tragedy they there acted in *Trajan's* time, slaughtering two hundred twenty thousand *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Dion. l. 68.* and some Myriads in *Cyprus* about the same time; yet *Josephus* tells us, there were more in *Syria* than any where, *de bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 21.* they were planted in every part of the World, says he, but especially in *Syria*, for its vicinity to *Palestine*; and there *Titus* continued them in the possession of their ancient privileges, notwithstanding all the importunity of the *Syrians* for their exclusion, *Antiq. l. 12. c. 3.* As for their numerousness in greater Cities, one or two instances may satisfy us. In *Alexandria*, the slaughter of fifty thousand *Jews* in that City did not extinguish them, *de bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 21.* and yet the same Author seems to intimate, that they were more numerous in *Antioch*

Antioch than any City, *de bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 21.* *Chrysostom* seems to signifie, that in his time, they were as many as the Christians in that City: for he exhorts each of the Christians to reduce one Jew to the Christian Profession, *ἐξῆς ἑνὸς, &c. contr. Jud. 1. p. 319.* To conclude this second consideration concerning the *Jews*, if these with the *Heathen* took up so very much of the great Cities, it need not seem strange, that we assign the *Christians* no larger a proportion therein, than is before specified.

There remains another sort of people inhabitants of these Cities to be taken notice of, whose numbers made the Christian Assemblies thinner, and the Bishops flocks less numerous. They are such who went under the name of Christians, but were not of the Communion, nor did assemble with the generality of them; such as were called Hereticks, or Sectaries; these were many, and had Bishops of their own, so that there were several Bishopricks in some one City.

But I shall only give a particular account of the *Novatians*. By the multitude of them we may conjecture, what all the rest put together would amount to. They had their rise about the middle of the

third Century, and were many from first to last, as *Soz. l. 2. c. 3.* They had a Diocess in *Rome* it self with publick liberty till *Cælestinus's* time, *id. l. 7. c. 9, 10.* another in *Alexandria* till *Cyrill's* time, *Socrat. l. 7. c. 7.* another in *Constantinople*, where it continued with publick liberty longer, *id. l. 7. c. 11.* They had Bishops in all these places; as also in *Cyzicus*, *id. l. 2. c. 30.* in *Nicæa*, *id. l. 4. c. 23.* in *Antyrra*, *id. l. 7. c. 28.* in *Scythia*, *id. ibid. c. 45.* in *Nicomedia*, *id. l. 4. c. 23.* in *Cotyrium*, *id. l. 4. c. 23.* and divers other places in *Phrygia*; they abounded there and in *Paphlagonia*, *id. l. 2. c. 30.* and had their Churches in *Galatia*, *id. l. 5. c. 20.* in *Mysia* and *Hellespont*, as also in *Thracia*. At *Constantinople* the same Historian mentions a long Succession of Bishops amongst them; the fifth is *Chrysanthus*, under whom their Churches were more confirmed and enlarged: for he was a person of great place and honour, having been the Emperour's Lieutenant in *Brittain*, *id. l. 7. c. 12.* In *Rome*, *Innocentius* takes many Churches from them, *id. ibid. c. 9.* *Cælestinus* deprived them of more, till which time they had mightily flourished at *Rome*, having very many Churches and great multitudes of people, *id. ibid. c. 11.*

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In the fourth age, as Christians did increase, so were Sects and Errours multiplied. I will not be particular herein, my design leading me no further into these times than the consideration of the Churches then, may help us to discover their state in foregoing ages. I need not shew, how predominant *Arianism* was in the greatest part of the Christian World, *ingemuit totus orbis, & Arianum se esse miratus est*, Jerom *advers. Lucif.* when it possessed the whole Orient, having none to oppose it, as Jerom saies, but *Athanasius* and *Paulinius*, *advers. Jo. Jerus.*

Nor how the *Donatists* prevailed in *Africa*, when *Augustin* tells us from *Tychonius*, that they had a Council consisting of two hundred seventy Bishops in the beginning of the fourth age, *Epist. 48.* and that they were in many places more numerous than the Catholics. Nor how the *Macedonians* did abound, who carried away no small part of the people to their persuasion, both in *Constantinople*, *Bithynia*, *Thracia*, *Hellespont*, and the Nations round about; *Soz. l. 4. c. 26.* Nor will I so much as name the other numerous Sects and Errours, which had their distinct Churches and respective Bishops in several Cities, so that there was sometimes

four or five Bishops of several persuasions seated in one City.

It's probable the Church scarce gained more numbers by the encouragement of *Constantine*, than it lost by *Arius*, and those many other erroneous Spirits, in which that age (as it every way more degenerated) was more unhappily fertile, than any before it.

To draw this Discourse to an issue; suppose we a City forty furlongs in compass, (than which there were very few bigger;) let us allow half thereof to Heathens; (they had rarely so little in the three first ages) allow then a third or fourth to *Jews* and *Novatians*, and other Sects, and the proportion left the Christians will not exceed the dimensions of a small Town, such as some of our Market Towns, when yet the inhabitants and those also of the Villages about it, can and do meet together for Communion.

But it may be more satisfactory, to make this evident, in some particular Cities; let us do it in a few of the greater, and some of the greatest.

Berytus was an eminent City, and a special instance of the prodigious magnificence of *Herod* and the two *Agrippa's*, in
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Josephus, thought fit also to be the Seat of an Arch-bishop; and yet it had but one Church in *Julian's* time, which was then burnt by *Magnus*, τὴν βηρυτιῶν ἐκκλησίαν ἑμπήσας: it is not one of the Churches, but the Church of *Berytus*, *Theod. l. 4. c. 20.* Tyre was one of the most illustrious Cities of the East, the Metropolis of *Phœnicia*, and the Bishop of it so eminent as he had place above all the Metropolitans of the Orient next to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. Yet *Paulinus* Bishop there in *Constantine's* time, had but so many under his Episcopal charge (as the Panegyrist in *Eusebius* informs us, *l. 10. c. 4.*) as he could take a personal notice of their Souls, and accurately examine the inward state of every one, ἐπισκοπεῖν τῆς ἐνδοτάτω τῶν ὑμετέρων ψυχῶν θειέας — ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐξηταχότι, p. 279. acquainting himself thoroughly with the condition of all those Souls that were committed to him, τὴν τῶν αὐτῶ κεκληρωμένων ψυχῶν ἐνδιαγινώσκων καὶ φιλοκεινῶν διάνοιαν, p. 285.

Synnada, after the division of *Phrygia* into two Provinces by *Constantine*, was Metropolis of *Pacatiana*. There *Theodosius*, the Catholick Bishop in the reign of *Honorius* and *Theodosius junior*, persecuting the *Macedonians* (contrary to the custom of the true Church, which was never

wont to persecute any, as the Historian notes, ὅσοι δ' ἐποίησαν ἐκ ἐνοχῆς διώξαν τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ,) *Agapetus* the *Macedonian* Bishop in that City on a sudden turns Orthodox, and calling together the people under him, perswades them to it; this done, with a great multitude, yea with all the people, μακρὸν δὲ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, he hastens into the Church, *Socrat. hist. l. 7. c. 3.* so that all the people were no more than one Church would contain.

Cyzicus was a great City as any in *Asia*. *Strabo* says it might contend with the chief Cities there for splendour and greatness, *l. 12.* *Florus* calls it the *Rome of Asia*. In *Julian's* time the greatest part of the Citizens were Heathens, the City sending their Deputies to him (as about other affairs, so) for the re-edifying of their Idol Temples, *Soz. hist. l. 5. c. 14.* Besides these, and the *Jews* numerous here as in all other such Cities in these parts, the *Novatians* had a Church, which *Eusebius* having demolished in *Constantine's* time, *Julian* enjoins him under great penalty to rebuild it, *id. l. 5. c. 5.* The *Arians* had a Bishop there, viz. *Eunomius*, *Theod. hist. l. 2. c. 29.* The *Macedonians*, the followers of *Eusebius* did abound there, and it seems were the most considerable part of
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of those that any way pretended to the Christian Profession, *Socrat. l. 4. c. 6. Soz. l. 6. c. 8.* Now all these deducted, there will not remain for the Diocess of the Orthodox Bishop, near so many as we may allow him without prejudice to our Hypothesis. Yet further, it seems all the Christians in this City were no more than could meet together in one place, to hear the Recantation of *Eusebius*: for he being frightened by the threatnings of *Valens*, into a Subscription to *Arianism*, thought fit, for his own Vindication, to declare before them all, the force that was put upon him, and so he did, ἐπὶ παντὶ λαῷ, *coram universo populo*, in the hearing of all the people, *Socrat. l. 4. c. 16.* assembled, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, as *Sozom. l. 6. c. 8.* And in an assembly upon such an occasion, we may reasonably suppose (if Historians had not expressed it) an universal concourse.

Constantinople, which I reckon among the greater (not the greatest) Cities, because in the beginning of the fourth Age it was but in motion towards that vastness, which it afterwards arrived at. In *Alexander's* time designed to be *Metrophanes* his Successour in the Bishoprick there, about *Ann. 317.* the Christians were no

more than could all meet together ; so *Theod.* informs us, συνάξιν συν πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιτάξεν, *l.* 1. *c.* 14. Afterwards, many falling off to *Arianism*, the remainder made but ποιμὴν μικρὸν, as the same *Historian* tells us, *l.* 5. *c.* 8. So that in *Valens's* reign, when *Nazianzen* took the charge of them ; a very little house did serve them for a Church, ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρῇ ἐκκλησία, *Soz.* *l.* 7. *c.* 5. and *Socrates* agrees with him in the expression, *l.* 4. *c.* 1. By *Nazianzen*, many were reduced, and that Church enlarged, says *Theodoret* : And *Theodosius* the great discountenancing *Arianism*, contributed much to the augmenting of it ; yet in the time of *Theodosius junior*, it seems all amounted to no more than one Church could contain, if *Socrates* deceive us not, *l.* 4. *c.* 23. ὅλη πόλις μίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἔχεν, &c.

At *Ancyra* the chief City of *Galatia*, besides the *Gentiles* and *Jews* there, the *Novatians* had a Bishop, *Soz.* *l.* 8. *c.* 1. *Socrat.* *l.* 6. *c.* 20. the *Semi-Arians* had a Bishop there, in *Epiphan. Her.* 73. the *Arians* had a Bishop also, *Soz.* *l.* 4. *c.* 24. And besides these new Sects, a prodigious swarm of the old sort mentioned by *Jerom*, viz. *Cataphryges*, *Ophitæ*, *Borboritæ*, *Manichæi*, &c. by which that Church was
all

all rent in pieces, as he complains, *proam. in comment. ad Galat. Scis mecum qui vidi Ancyram Metropolim Galatia, quod nunc usque Schismatibus dilacerata sit, quod dogmatum varietatibus constuprata, &c.* By the State of which City, Baronius leaves us to judge what was the Condition of the rest of the Cities in the East, which had not such preservatives to keep them from this mischief, as *Ancyra* enjoyed under two holy Bishops, *ad Ann. 373. . 6.*

The like may be said of *Cæsarea*, the chief City in *Mauritania*, in which, *St. Austin* desires *Emeritus* the Donatist Bishop, he might there, *all the Citizens being present*, defend his Communion, *Possid. Vita August. c. 14.*

At *Tiberias* a principal City in *Galilee*, *Epiphanius* tells us, that *Joseph* got leave of *Constantine* to build a Church, where there was none before; and accordingly he raised a Church, and that but a little one, *μεγὰν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτεχίσας*, as also he did at *Diocesarea*, or *Sephiris*, and in *other Cities*, *Hær. 30. p. 136.*

At *Diocesarea* in *Cappadocia*, which in *Nazianzen* is *πόλις μεγάλη*, there was but one Church, as appears by his *Epistle 49. p. 810.*

At *Constantia*, the Metropolis of *Cyprus*,
and

and other Cities of that Island, there was no plurality of Parishes or Churches, as *Petavius* concludes, in that *Epiphanius* speaks of them in *Alexandria* as not elsewhere usual, nor known amongst the *Cypriots*; *Unam duntaxat Ecclesiam extitisse in quam universi confluerent, cujusmodi Cypri urbes erant. Unde quod Alexandria receptum erat, velut popularibus suis peregrinum & inusitatum adnotavit Epiphanius, Animadvers. in Epiph. Her. 69. n. 1.*

At *Neocæsarea*, a Metropolis in *Pontus*, and other Cities in those parts of *Asia*, but one Church, as appears by the Synod there, *can. 13.* which the same Author observes, *ibid. p. 281. Siquidem initio oppidanis omnibus par esse poterat Episcopus; hinc est quod in Neocæsar. can. 13. unum duntaxat urbis *ἐπισκοπὴν* nominatur; and tells us, *plures in eadem urbe tituli*, was then (when *Epiphanius* wrote, *viz.* about *Ann. 376.*) either not to be found in other Cities besides *Alexandria*, *vel saltem in paucis*, or but in few.*

I might produce like evidence for others of their greater Cities; but no more is needfull, since by these (with the other before mentioned) we may judge of the rest; and the Inference ariseth hence advantageously for the former Ages; if the

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Bishops flocks were no greater in and after *Constantine's* time, what were they before, when all grant them to have been less?

CAP. V.

Come we at last to the greatest Cities of all. Concerning these there may be the greatest doubt, whether they contained not more Christians than we speak of, in the three first Ages. If we shall bring proof that they did not, there can reasonably remain no doubt concerning any of the rest. Indeed if our evidence should fail us as to these, yet it would be no considerable prejudice to our undertaking: for what are two or three too bulky and overgrown Bishopricks, to the many thousands that exceeded not the proportions of our Parishes. But I have not yet met with any thing to convince me, that the greatest of those Cities in the first ages after Christ, had more Christians under one Bishop than there are in some one of our Parishes; but find enough to make the contrary seem probable; which I shall now produce.

To begin with *Rome*, which was incompa.

comparably the greatest City in the Christian world, *Ann.* 236. or thereabouts, all the Faithfull in *Rome* did meet together in one place to choose a Bishop in the place of *Anterus*, τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χειροτονία ἔνεκεν — ὅτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁπικαροῦμένων, *Euseb. hist.* l. 6. c. 29. and a Dove resting upon the head of *Fabian*, in the place where they were assembled, thereupon all the People, τὸν πάντα λαόν, with all alacrity and one consent did place him in the Episcopal Seat. They were no more after, *Ann.* 250. than could all together in the Church importune *Cornelius* for the re-admission of one of the Ordainers of *Novatian*, who entered into the Church lamenting, the whole people interceding for him, πάντες τῷ λαῷ, *Euseb.* l. 6. c. 43. They were no more than could concur in an Epistle to salute their Brethren at *Carthage*, *Salutant vos fratres*, say the *Romans* to those at *Carthage*, & tota Ecclesia, in *Cyprian*, Epist. 3. They were no more than *Cornelius* could read *Cyprian's* Letters to in their numerous Assembly; he always read them amplissima plebi, and desires him to read that in particular which he then sent, quanquam sciem — sanctissime atque amplissima plebi legere te semper liceas nostras, &c. l. 1. Epist. 3. They were no more than could all be present

sent at Consultations about matters of concernment: for such matters ought not to be determined (as the *Roman* Confessors write) but with the advice of all, *Non oportet nisi ut ipse scribis caute moderateque tractari, consultis omnibus & ipsis stantibus Laicis, ut in tuis literis & ipse testaris*, Epist. 26. They concurr'd with *Cyprian*, and his way was, *hac singulorum tractanda sit & limanda plenius ratio non tantum cum Collegis meis, sed & cum plebe ipsa universa*, Epist. 28.

I meet with nothing that makes any show of a Probability that their numbers were more at that time, but *Cornelius* his catalogue of Officers in his Epistle to *Fabius* of *Antioch*, and the number of the Poor, which were Fifteen hundred, *Euseb. l. 6. c. 37*. As for the number of Officers, the show will vanish, if it be considered, that it was the custom of those ancient times, to multiply Officers far beyond what was necessary, yea so much, that, as *Nazianzen* tells us, the Officers were sometimes as many as they had the charge of, *εἰς χεῖρας πλείους ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀρεθμὸν*, Orat. 1.

As for the other, how to compute the numbers of the *Roman* Church by the number of the Poor, I know no better way

way than to observe what proportion there was betwixt these in other places. *Chrysostom* in his time computes the poor at *Constantinople* to have been half as many as all the other Christians there, these *ἑκα μυσιάδες*, those *πέντε μυσιάδες*, in *Acts, Hom. 11. p. 674*. If it were thus at *Rome* in *Cornelius's* time, we may collect the number to have been about three thousand. At *Antioch* the same Father supposes the Poor a tenth part, in *Matth. Homil. 5. p. 421*. where dividing the whole into three ranks, he counts a tenth part rich, and a tenth poor, καὶ τὸ δέκατον πτωχῶν τῶν ἐν ὅλῳι ἐχόντων, miserably poor, (and so come their number to be less) and the rest betwixt both. Now it is probable, that the proportion of the Poor at *Rome* in the third Age, was nearer the former than the later of these Instances, rather the half than a tenth part. For if in *Chrysostom's* time, when Christianity had so much reputation, as to tempt the richest to profess it, the poor at *Antioch* was a tenth part; in all probability, at *Rome* in time of fierce Persecution, when few of the rich in comparison received the Gospel, the Poor were a far greater proportion than a tenth. But suppose what is not likely, that they were no more, the

whole

whole Church would but consist of about fifteen thousand; and if one Table could not possibly (for those times admitted not of conveniencies) serve so many, divers of our Parishes in *England* are ill provided for, which consist of more. Besides, all were not Communicants; and a great part of them of necessity were still absent, the Sick, the Decrepit, the little Ones, those that attended such, those that looked to their Families, and made provision for the rest; a third part may be abated upon such accounts. Indeed *Cornelius* says there, that his people were *innumerable*; but then the expression must not be taken strictly for more than could be numbred, otherwise we shall make *Cornelius* speak that which is apparently false: for all the Citizens of *Rome* (in comparison of whom the Christians were but as it were a handfull) were frequently numbered, every fifth year; but understand it as commonly, to signify a very great number, and those that urge it will have no advantage by it; *amplissima plebs* in *Cyprian* is a full expression of it, who yet are no more than a Letter might be read to when assembled together. So *St. Austin* says, in *Galatia* there were *Regiones innumera-biles*, de *Unit. Eccles.* c. 10. and *Galla*
Pla-

Placidia innumerabiles Civitates Italia, epist. ad *Theodos.* And the Council of *Africa* in an Epistle to *Celestine*, speaks of *innumerable Bishops* in Synods, (the same word which *Cornelius* uses, ἀναριθμῶντος,) whereas we find not above three hundred in any *African* Synod, not seven hundred in any other; such a number will satisfy the expression which some would strain to their advantage; whereas if we allow more than twice so many thousands intended by it, that will not make them more than are in some of our Parishes.

Alexandria was counted the greatest City in the Empire next to *Rome*, μέγιστη μετὰ τὴν Ρώμην, as *Josephus*. *Strabo* calls it the greatest Mart Town in the World, μέγιστον τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐμπορίου. *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls it *verticem omnium Civitatum*; and when by *Ausonius*, *Carthage* and *Antioch* are preferred before it, that was, as the same Historian tells us, because it was much weakened by Civil Wars under *Aurelian* the Emperour.

Now to shew that the Christians were not more there than could meet in one place, I shall not insist upon this, that *Dionysius* Bishop there in the latter end of the third Age, calls that Church *συνοχὴς* and that scrupulous member of it (whose
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case he is relating to *Xystus*) *πρὸς τῶν συνα-
γωμένων ἀδελφῶν*, *Euseb. hist. l. 7. c. 9.* and the
place of their Panegyrical Assemblies;
(which was their greatest of all,) was in his
time a place of no great reception *πανηγυρί-
κον ἡμῶν γέγονε καεὶον*, not only a *Field*, or a
Desert, but a *Ship*, an *Inne*, or a *Prison*,
ibid. l. 7. c. κα. though these be fair pro-
babilities.

But *Athanasius*, in his *Apology to Con-
stantius*, about *Ann. 355.* makes it evident
beyond all contradiction. He being accu-
sed for assembling the people in the great
Church before it was finished or dedi-
cated, *πεὶν αὐτὴν τελειωθῆναι*, makes this part
of his defence, *That the confluence of the
people at the paschal solemnity was so great;
that if they had met in several Assemblies,*
κατὰ μέρη καὶ διμενέως, the other Churches were
so little and strait that they would have been
in danger of suffering by the croud; nor would
the universal harmony and concurrence of the
people have been so visible and effectual, if
they had met in parcels; and therefore he
appeals to him, whether it were not better
for the whole multitude to meet in that great
Church, (being a place large enough to re-
ceive them all together, *ὅπως ἦν τόπος τὸ συνα-
γεῖν δεχόμενος πάντας*,) and to have a concu-
rence of all the people with one voice. For

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if;

if, says he, according to our Saviours promise, where two shall agree as touching any thing, that shall be done for them, of my Father, &c. how prevalent will be the one voice of so numerous a people assembled together, and saying Amen to God.

So that hereby it is evident, that in the middle of the fourth age, all the Christians at *Alexandria* which were wont at other times to meet in several assemblies, were no more than one Church might and did contain, so as they could all joyn at once in the Worship of God, and concur in one *Amen*, Athanas. Edit. Comelin. tom. 1. p. 531.

Further he tells him, that *Alexander* his Predecessor, who dyed, Ann. 325. did as much as he in like circumstances; though there were several other Churches in the City, yet being all strait and little, he assembled the whole multitude in the Church called *Theonas* (which was then counted the great Church; though it seems not great enough now) before it was quite finished, *id. ibid.* p. 532.

This is testimony clear enough; but 'tis capable of another kind of proof, which might be as satisfactory to some, yet being prevented in it by a better hand, I wave it. See *R. B. Church History*, p. 9, 10.

I think the premises are so evident, that there is no need of the help of *Dionysius's* observation, that *Alexandria* in his time, (*viz.* the latter end of the third Century,) was not by much so populous as of old, *Euseb. l. 17. c. 16.* and the old men more in number formerly, than both old and young in his days.

Antioch in *Strabo's* account was less than *Alexandria, l. 16.* but greater than any other City save that and *Rome*; and so called by *Josephus* the third City in the World, *τέτιον δίκαιόντης ἔχουσα τρέπον, de bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 1.* In *Zosimus* it is the Metropolis of the whole Orient, *hist. l. 1. p. 15.* and in *Chrysostom* the Metropolis of the World, *Tom. 5. Homil. 28.* *Herodian* tells us, that *Geta* designed it or *Alexandria* to be the Seat of his Empire, coming but little short; as he thought, of *Rome, ἡ πολὺ μέγιστος ἀπολειπάται, l. 4. p. 9.*

The Christians there in the first Age were no more than could all meet together in the house of *Theophilus*, as appears by the Author of the *Recognitions*, which, tho' falsely ascribed to *Clemens*, is ancient; nor will it be easie to find a reason why the following passage should be forged: *Theophilus — Domus sue ingentem Basilicam Ecclesie nomine consecra-*

vit, in qua omnis multitudo ad audiendum verbum conveniens, credebatur sana doctrina, l. 10. ad fin.

When *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of this City, was for Heresie ejected out of the Bishoprick, he would not give up the possession of the house where the Church did meet, τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου, *Euseb. l. 7. c. 1.* So that one house it seems was then sufficient, otherwise they might have had more under an Emperour so favourable as *Aurelian*, who upon their Address to him restored them the possession of this. And that it was the Church-house in which they assembled, not the Bishops house, as the Translator renders it, appears, because it is presently after called the Church, ἐξελεύναται τῆς ἐκκλησίας. and elsewhere the place of the Church assemblies is frequently called, ἐκκλησίας οἶκος, *Euseb. l. 9. c. 9. de vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 36. and Hist. l. 8. c. ult.*

In the fourth Age all the Christians there could meet together for the choice of *Eustatius*, anno 324. ἅπας ὁ λαός, says *Theodoret, l. 1. c. 7.* After he by the malicious practices of the *Arians* was ejected about Ann. 328. there were no Christians visible there, but in the assemblies of the *Arians*, during the time that *Enlali-*
us,

us, *Euphronius*, *Flacellus*, *Stephanus*, *Leontius*, *Eudoxius* and *Anianus* were Bishops, save those who adhering to the Truth, and *Eustathius*, separated themselves, and were under the conduct of the Presbyter *Paulinus*, *Theod. hist. l. 1. c. 22.* and these were no more than could meet together in a private house, (where *Athanasius* assembled with them,) ἐν ἰδίῳ τῶν οικείας ἐκκλησιάζων, *Soz. l. 3. c. 19.* and when they had more favour in a little Church: for so *Euzoius* the *Arian* Bishop, who had some reverence for *Paulinus*, granted them μίαν τῶν μικρῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, *Socr. l. 3. c. 7.*

Paulinus, after he had governed them as a Presbyter for above thirty years, was made Bishop by *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, *Ann. 362.* having no other for his flock than those called *Eustathians*, nor *Evagrius* his Successour; yet these the *Egyptian*, *Arabian*, *Cyprian*, *Roman* Bishops, and the Churches of the West and South counted the only true lawful Bishops of *Antioch*, *Theod. l. c. Soz. l. c.*

But thirty two years after the expulsion of *Eustathius*, another company who had hitherto joyned in publick with the *Arians*, *Miletus* to whom they were addicted being exiled about *Ann. 350.* and

Euzoius substituted in his place, do withdraw themselves from the *Arian* Assemblies, and met in a Church in *Palaa*, *Theod. l. 2. c. 31.* for the numbers of the *Miletians*, (so they were called) *Theodoret's* expression seems to make the *Eustathians* more, *l. 1. c. 22.* however one Church, and that no great one would contain them; and one they had of *Jovinian*, *Theod. l. 4. c. 22.* And since a private house and a small Church, or two Churches, and those not great, could hold both these parties, we may well conclude one large Church would have contained them both, if both could have agreed to assemble in it; and yet the Ages since acknowledge no true Bishop at *Antioch* at that time, but he that was head of one of these parties. They met all in one Church at the Ordination of *Chrysostom*, if *George Alex.* do not misinform us, *vit. Chrysost. tom. 8. p. 178.* and so they did five years after *Meletius's* death, says *Chrysostom, tom. 5. p. 537. Edit. Savil.*

It will be needless to add, their numbers were lessened by *Vitalius's* falling off to *Apollinarius*, and drawing a great multitude after him called *Vitalians*, who had Bishops of their own in this and other Cities, *Soz. l. 6. c. 25.* or to say any thing

thing of the *Luciferians* there, of whom *Soz. l. 7. c. 3.* or of any other Sects which were there numerous enough, since I suppose it is clear by the Premises, that the two main *τμήματα*, before they crumbled away by those divisions, comprized no more than might meet together for Communion, the *Aureum dominicum*, which the Historian speaks of there, might have held them.

Carthage was not counted so great by some as the three Cities forementioned; yet next to them, one of the greatest in the Empire. *Herodian* says, that for Riches, multitude of Inhabitants, and greatness, it was short of Rome only, and contended with Alexandria in Egypt, *πρὸ δευτέρῳ*, for the next place to Rome, *l. 7. p. 153.*

That there were no more Christians in that Church about *Ann. 200.* than could meet together in one place for Church-administrations, there is evidence enough in *Tertullian*, which at present I shall not further take notice of, than in the observation of a great Antiquary, the Bishop of Orleans, who in his Notes on *Tertullian, ad Uxorem, p. 25.* shews the ridiculousness of those who would prove the modern Processions from *Tertullian's Si Procedendum, how many Temples,*
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how many Churches must there be at Carthage for the performing of these rites; *una tantum illis temporibus erat Ecclesia & Domus Sacra, & ita certe humilis & parum ornata ut à privatis facile non dignoscetur.*

In Cyprian's time, who lived till about Ann. 260. in all Church administrations and transactions of moment in the Church and Bishoprick of Carthage, *tota fraternitas — plebs universa — omnes stantes Laici*; all the people were to be present, as he declares every where in his *Epistles*; and how all could be present if they were more than could meet together, is not intelligible. I should transcribe a great part of those *Epistles*, if I should produce all the evidence for this, which is there offered; a few brief passages may suffice. All were present at reading of Letters, *l. 3. Epist. 16.* All were present at the Sacrament, and therefore he would have it administered at such a time, *ut Sacramenti veritatem, fraternitate omni presente, celebremus, l. 2. epist. 3.* All present at Exhortations, *nec universæ fraternitati allocutio & persuasio nostra defuit, l. 3. epist. 5.* All present at Censures, *causam acturi apud universam plebem, l. 3. epist. 14.* All present at Election of Officers, *l. 2. epist. 5.* particularly

a Bishop was to be chosen *plebe presente — convocata plebe tota — sub omnium oculis — de universa fraternitatis suffragio*, and so ought to be *de divina autoritate*, — and so were *de facto* through the Christian world, *per universas fere Provincias*, l. 1. Ep. 4. All present at debates and consultations, *hac singulorum tractanda sit & limanda plenius ratio — cum plebe ipsa universa*; so he writes to the People, *examinabuntur singula presentibus vobis*, l. 3. ep. 16.

So long as Cyprian's Principles and Practice were retained in that Church, it did, it could consist of no more than might all assemble at one place; and we have no reason to doubt but they were retained the remainder of that Age; and we find them acting conformably thereto in the next. For *Ann. 311.* the year before the Decree for Liberty to Christians was published by *Constantine*, the whole multitude concurs in the election of *Cacilian* by joynt suffrage, *suffragio totius populi Cacilianus eligitur*, *Optat. l. 1.*

And after *Constantine* declared himself in favour of Christianity, many here, as elsewhere, came over from Heathenism; yet there was no great alteration made hereby as to the largeness of his Bishoprick,

rick, since it is a question, whether *Carthage* gained as many from *Gentilism* as it lost to the *Donatists*, who were so numerous here as to have a Bishop of their own, and enough for another Diocese in this City, and their Bishops there successively, *Majorinus* (made by a Synod of seventy ;) *Donatus*, *Parmenianus*, *Primianus*, confirmed by a Synod of three hundred and ten Bishops.

Jerusalem was far inferiour in greatness to the four Cities forementioned, yet may be thought considerable in this Discourse, because of the many thousands converted there by the Apostles : from whence it is concluded, that they were more than could meet together in one place for communion. But I have shewed this before to be a mistake, and that of those five thousand converted, the twentieth part cannot in reason be counted Inhabitants of the City ; *Vid. c. 1.* About forty years after, this Church consisted of no more than *Pella* a small City could entertain, together with its own Inhabitants ; for thither they all retired, as *Eusebius* informs us, *l. 3. c. 5.* being admonished from Heaven to leave the City ; and *Epiphanius de pond. & mens. c. 15.* πῶτες ἡ πόλις, being warned by an Angel to leave the City a little before

before it was destroyed, obeyed and dwelt in *Pella* a City of *Decapolis*. And they deserved the title of *ἐπιφανείς*, (whether *Josephus* intended it for them or others,) who he says, after the retreat of *Cestius* from *Jerusalem*, left the City as a Ship ready to sink, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, &c. *de Bell. Jud. l. c. μ.* And from hence Archbishop *Whitgift* concludes the smallness of their numbers; *How few Christians*, says he, *were there at Jerusalem not long before it was destroyed, being above forty years after Christ? Doth not Eusebius testifie, l. 3. c. 5. that they all were received into a little Town called Pella? and yet the Apostles had spent much time and labour in preaching there, but the number of those that did not profess Christ in that City was infinite.*

Not long after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, if we believe *Epiphanius*, *ubi supra*, n. 15. they returned from *Pella* to *Jerusalem*, and settled in the ruins of a part of the desolate City, no fit place to entertain multitudes; and near fifty years after are found there very low and few: For, as the same Author tells us, *Adrian*, in his Progress through those parts of the Empire, coming to *Jerusalem* finds the whole City laid level with the ground, except a few Houses and a little Church,

παρέκτος ἐλίγων οἰκημάτων καὶ τῆς τῆς Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας μικροῦ
 ὕψους, *ibid.* c. 14. and one would judge they
 could not be very many, whom so small a
 Church could contain, and so few Houses
 lodge.

After *Adrian* had raised the City *Ælia*
 out of the ruins of the old *Jerusalem*, the
 Church there was so far from rising with
 the City, that it fell from what it was
 before, being in his time very much di-
 minished if not quite ruined, as to its
 ancient Constitution. For *Adrian*, provo-
 ked by the Rebellion of the *Jews*, by se-
 vere Edicts excludes them all, not onely
 from *Jerusalem*, but all the territory round
 about it, as *Aristo Pellaus* in *Euseb.* l. 4.
 c. 6. And *Sulpitius Severus*, *hist.* l. 2. says,
 this Prohibition reached not onely those
 that were *Jews* by Religion, but all that
 were *Jews* by Extract, tho professing the
 Christian Religion; so that if the Church
 then at *Jerusalem* were either wholly, or
 for the greatest part, constituted of such
Jews, by this Law it was either quite dissi-
 pated or greatly diminished. Now *Euse-
 bius* tells us, that from the Apostles to this
 last devastation of *Palestine* by *Adrian*, that
 Church did consist of such *Jews*, ἐξ ἑθελων
 πεισθέντων, l. 4. c. 5. which we must understand
 either absolutely, so as none else but be-
 lieving

believing *Jews* were Members of that Church, or else none but they in comparison, very few of the *Gentiles*; in the first sence by this Edict it would be quite dissolved as to its being a Church at *Jerusalem*; in the latter sence it would be reduced to a small compass, and very few Members, viz. those onely of the believing *Gentiles*. And in this sence I take it, because there was a Church here still; but all of Jewish Extract being excluded by the Emperours Authority, it was constituted only of *Gentiles*, *cessantibus his qui fuerant ex Judeis*, Jer. in *Chron*. So *Eusebius* says, that that Church was made up of *Gentiles*, and the reason he gives, because by *Adrian's* Edict immediately before mentioned, the City was emptyed of all the Jewish Nation, *Euseb. l. 4. c. 6*. So that upon this Constitution of *Adrian*, about the Eighteenth or Nineteenth of his Reign, as *Eusebius* computes it, *Ann. 135*. the Church of *Jerusalem* consisted only of those *Gentiles*, which were so few, as they are not thought fit to be brought to account, by him who gives the best account of the state of the Church in those times.

It is like their numbers were increased before *Narcissus* was Bishop there in the third Age, yet then they were not so ma-

ny, but that the whole multitude could meet together with their Bishop at the Paschal Vigill, as appears by what we meet with in *Eusebius*, l. 6. c. 9. The People assembled with *Narcissus* at the great Vigil, and while they were watching, Oyl failing them for their Lights, τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος, the whole multitude were greatly troubled, whereupon *Narcissus* procures them a supply in an extraordinary way, as it is there reported.

Nay in *Cyril's* time, which was in the fourth Age, *Anno* 353. it seems they were no more than could assemble in one place: for the people, as *Sozomen* relates it, being astonished at an Apparition in the Air, all leave their Houses, their Markets, their Work, and Men, Women and Children meet in the Church, ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπῆλθον, and there all together *uno ore* joyn in the Praises of Christ. *Hist.* l. 3. c. 4.

CAP. VI.

LET us consider what may be objected against that which is insisted on. It may be alledged, that not only the City and a large Territory belonging to it, and the Villages therein, made up the Bishops

Bishops Diocess, so that the Countrey Inhabitants added to the Citizens, might make those under the ancient Bishops more numerous; and some would perswade us, that it was the Apostles intention, that both the City and the whole Countrey should be under one Bishop.

Ans. If the Christians in the Villages of the Territory added to those of the Cities, increased them beyond the numbers in some of our Parishes, or beyond the capacity of holding personal Communion together, this must be in the greatest Cities where Christians were most numerous, or else nowhere; when as we see by the former Instances that it was not so in the greatest Cities. It was not so particularly at *Carthage*, where all the people belonging to *Cyprian* met frequently at once upon several occasions, which is plain beyond contradiction by near a hundred passages in his *Epistles*. Yea in the fourth Age it was not so at *Alexandria*, (the greatest City next to *Rome*;) for whereas at Panegyricall Assemblies all the Christians belonging to a Bishop were wont to meet, that Assembly of which *Athanasius* gives an account to *Constantius*, (of which before,) being at one of the greatest Solemnities, was panegyricall, and yet was held in one Church.

And

And we shewed before, that the Christians in such Cities were no more in the first Ages than the Inhabitants of an ordinary Town, such as some of our Market Towns; when we know, that not only those of the Town, but of many Villages (sometimes near twenty) belonging to it can and do meet together in one place for Communion; so that this is prevented and satisfied in the former discourse. .

But to add something for more satisfaction, tho' what is premised may suffice, it may appear that no great access could come to the Bishops charge by the Villages or Territory pertaining to his City, nor was his flock hereby made much more numerous.

For first, either the Territory was little; and so it was indeed for the most part. There are some will have it taken for granted, that the Territories of Cities were very large; and they challenging no more for a Bishop's Diocese than the City with the Territory, had need presume it to be exceeding large, so as it may bear some proportion to a Northern Diocese, which else will appear such as the Apostles never intended. The Circuit of one of our large Countrey Parishes (yea or of two together)

ther) they will scorn as unworthy the repute or name of a Bishops Diocels; yet it may be made manifest that ordinarily the Territory of Cities where the Apostles and their Disciples planted Churches, and commonly through the whole Empire, amounted not to more, if so much.

Shall we take an estimate of the Territory of other Cities, and judge what it was commonly by that of the *Levites* Cities? (why may we not, since divers of them were Royal Cities, and may be supposed to have had the largest allowance answerable to the very liberal provision the Lord made for them in other things?) we have a particular account of the extent of their Territory, *Numb.* 35. a thousand cubits, *v.* 4. two thousand, *v.* 5. that is, as the best Interpreters take it, a thousand from the middle of the City to each quarter, and two thousand from one quarter to another, (*viz.* from East to West, and from North to South,) and so in circumference eight thousand Cubits, (reckoning two Cubits a foot more than one pace,) that is, about five miles; this is far short of the compass of some Countrey Parishes; many of them are five, six, seven miles, some more in length, (exceeding the Territory of *Tyre*, anciently the Metropolis of *Phœnicia*, and

the principal City next to *Antioch*, as *Sands* found it six miles in length, two in some places in breadth, *Travels. p. 216.*)

Or shall we be determined by *Crcet*, the place whither the Text insisted on for this purpose leads us, and so the fittest to regulate us herein? We are told frequently that there were an hundred Cities in it, and as many Bishops ordained there by *Titus*; yet the whole Island, when it was wholly Christian, and under Governours of that Profession, contained but two hundred and seven Parishes, and was divided into so many, according to *Heylins* account, *Cosmogr. p. 263.* So that two Parishes would make such a Diocess, as by his reckoning the Apostle intended for a Bishop. Yet such a Territory will be contemned, as more fit for the scorned *Italian Episcopellus*, than the grandure of a more western Prelate; divers of these counting five hundred times more not too much for a Diocess.

If we go further, where Cities were not great, (and such were far the most part of Cities every where,) the Territory was not large, these being, as cannot be denyed with any reason, commonly proportionable; nor could it be large where Cities were numerous and stood near together, (whether they were great or
small,)

small;) no room there for a Territory of great extent. Yet thus they were, many and thick set (for the most part as thick as they are said to be in *Creet*,) in those Countreys where we find the Apostles planted Churches, in *Palestine*, *Syria*, *Asia*, *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Italy*. I could out of Historians and Geographers give instances of hundreds of Cities that stand but six, five, four miles, or less one from another; let me but give an instance in some Mother Cities. In *Ferrarius*, *Laodicea* and *Hierapolis*, (both Metropolies,) are but six Miles distant. Nor can it be thought their Territory was large other wayes, though not where they were so near, (for there were other Cities which must have their Territories too, nearer them any way than they were to one another.)

But we need go no further for satisfaction than the notion of a Territory, as it is universally agreed on. *Pomponius* so defines it, *Territorium est universitas agrorum intra fines cujusque Civitatis, intra quos, prout ait Sículus Flaccus, jurisdictendi jus erat* *. By which it ap-

*Digest. l. 50. tit. 16.

de verb. signif. *Territorium est universitas agrorum intra fines cujusque Civitatis, quod ab eo dictum quidam aiunt quod magistratus ejus loci intra eos fines terrendi, i. e. summovendi jus habet.*

Cod. l. 10. Tit. 37. l. 53. *Quam civem impune non liceat extollere potestatem fascium extra metas territorii propria Civitatis,*

pears, the Territory reached no further than the Jurisdiction of the City Magistrates; and how many Cities can be shown us in the *Roman Empire*, where this Jurisdiction reached further than it doth in our English Cities? when shall we see any proof that ordinarily it was of more extent? and with us it is known to be commonly of no more extent than the Circuit of some of our Countrey Parishes: how much further does the authority of the Maior of *Lincoln*, or *Winchester*, or *Canterbury*, &c. reach? No more is their Territory, and so no larger should their Diocess be, if the Apostles intention (as themselves state it) were observed, designing no more for a Diocess than the City, Suburbs and Territory. What more they have than such a *polis* or *metropolis*, (and some have many hundred times more,) they have no right to from any thing express in Scripture, or any pretended Apostolical intention. Or,

Secondly, If the Territory were large, yet the Christians were but few in Villages for a long time; the Gospel prevailed not so soon, nor was Christianity so readily embraced there as in Cities; it's progress was from great Cities to the less, and from both to Villages. When Heathenism was expelled out of Cities under

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der Christian Emperours, it stuck in the Villages, in *Pagis*; hence Heathen Idolaters were called *Pagani*, as *Gothofred* observes in *Cod. l. 1. Tit. 10.* and *Pago dediti* by *Prudentius*; And *Chrysostom* says of the Heathen Philosophers, the great supporters of that Religion, *μεγάλοι εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκεῖνοι*, in *Jo. Hom. p. 837.*

After Christianity was too hard for the *Gentiles* in Cities, they retreated hither, and finding Favourers and Abettors, made good their retreat for some time, maintaining this Post obstinately as their last refuge. So that considering the state of Cities themselves as before represented, we may well conclude, there were many Villages in the fourth Age, in which there were no Christians, very many in which there were but few, and but few in comparison in which all were Christians; and what then were they in the former Ages? If a Village wholly Christian had not been a Rarity even in *Jerom's* time, why does he make it a singular observation of *Jethura*? *Villa praegrandis Jethura, habitatoresque ejus omnes Christiani sunt*, de loc. *Hebra.*

And when the Christians in the Territory were many, yet being disposed (as generally they were) under other Bishops than him in the City, his Diocess had no enlargement thereby.

For

For tho' some would have us think, that it was the intention of the Apostles that the Territory, tho' large, should belong only to the Bishop of the City; yet I see no ground for this, seeing neither do the Apostles signifie any such thing, neither do the Fathers conclude any such thing from them. Nothing is pretended for it but the practice of the Church, which they say speaks it plain enough; whereas indeed their practice speaks quite the contrary, and declares that they never believed the Apostles had any intention that the Territory, though large, should have no Bishop but him in the City. For what more usual in the practice of the Ancients than to make one or more, sometimes many Bishops in the Territory of that City which had it's Bishop besides: Villages being in the Territory of Cities; there needs no other evidence for this, than what was before produced to shew that there were Bishops in Villages; and of this I have given instances, as a common usage in all quarters of the Christian World; and have discovered Bishops, not only in the larger, but also, where it was thought requisite, in the smaller or ordinary Villages. It were easie to add more Instances hereof. In the Territory of *Hippe*, *Austin* speaks of

of divers Bishops, *Epist.* 68. *Ecce interim Episcopos nostros, qui sunt in Regione Hipponense, ubi a vestris tanta mala patimur, convenite*: he mentions a Bishop in the Castle *Synica* near to *Hippo*, *de Civit. Dei.* l. 22. c. 8. and yet would have another Bishop made in the Castle *Fussala*, *ad Ecclesie Hipponensis paræciam*, *Epist.* 261. And in the Territory of other Cities, we find two, or three, or four Bishopricks of new Erection, besides what were there by ancient Constitution. Two are mentioned in the Territory of *Milevis*, two in that of *Tigava*, (tho in *Ferrarius* it is but two miles distant from *Oppidum Novum* another Episcopal Town,) four Bishopricks in the Territory of *Cas-enigra*, four in that of *Tacara*, *vid. Collat. Carthag.*

Basinopolis, a Village honoured by *Julian* with the Priviledges of a City, being a place in *Bithynia*, in the Territory of *Nice*, as *Anastasius* Bishop of that City declares, *Ego autem ostendo Basinopolim sub Nicæa jam olim esse, nam Regio fuit ejus — sicut Tacteus & Doris Regiones sunt sub Nicæa*, *Con. Chalced. Act.* 13. But being made an Episcopal Seat in the fourth Age, it was no longer under the Jurisdiction of the *Nicene* Bishop, either as part of his Territory or Province: for tho he of *Nice* had the Name and Honour of a

Metropolitan, yet the Power being not allowed in those times to two in one Province, the Fathers of *Chalcedon* adjudged it to belong to *Eunomius* of *Nicomedia* as the proper Metropolitan, *Conc. Chalced. ibid.*

This appears also in the Bishoprick erected in the Precinct of *Cæsarea*, when *Basil* presided *there*, and the contest was hot betwixt him and *Anthinius* Bishop of *Tyana*, concerning the places belonging to their respective Cities; particularly in *Sassima* then made an Episcopal Seat, which though afterwards counted a City, (as places were wont to be when they had Bishops, though they were no better than Villages, *Vid. Mireus, p. 297.*) yet *Nazianzen*, who best knew it, being the first Bishop it had, calls it a very little Village, and on that account, must be in their account in the Territory of some City, and so is another pregnant instance that the Bishops of those times, particularly the great *Basil*, *Gregory* the Father of *Nazianzen*, and *Gregory Nyssen* the Brother of *Basil*, and *Nazianzen* himself, in whose ordination to that place these all concurred, had not any thought that the Apostles intended, that the City and all its Territories should have but one Bishop: *Nazianzen*, who used all means, all pleas
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to avoid that Bishoprick, if he could have alleadged this, would have easily satisfied his Father and Friends; his Authority and their Importunity (to which after much resistance he yielded,) would not have been used in opposition to what was accounted the Apostles intent, *Vid. Naz. in laud. Basil. & Epist. 30. & Orat. 20.*

Not to be tedious; if that was the Territory of *Rome* which was under the Jurisdiction of the Provost of that City, it was large indeed, (reaching one hundred miles,) none like it, nor it like it self when it was but extended *ad quintum aut sextum lapidem*. But then the Diocess of the *Roman* Bishop was nothing hereby enlarged: for in that Circuit there are now about forty Bishops, and of old there were many more, *viz.* no less than sixty nine, as appears by the ancient Provincial in *Baron. Vit. Mir. Notit. Epist. p. 68.* and 160. and taking those united into the reckoning, the number arises to seventy five (more in the Territory of one City than there are now in great *Brittain* and *Ireland*;) nor was there any one Parish or Church in this Territory that belonged to the Diocess of the City Bishop: for all his Churches were within the City, as *Innocent* the first declares, writing to *Descentius* Bishop of *Eugubium* concerning

ing the *Eulogie* which were wont to be sent to all in the Diocess, *Epist. c. 5.* *Cum omnes Ecclesie nostrae intra Civitatem constitutae sunt* : Answerably *Leo*, his Diocesan charge was, *Tantae Urbis Populi*, *Epist. 13.* And that of *Chrysostom* is true in this case, when he says, a Bilshop governs a City only, *ἐ τῆς πόλεως μόνως*, *Hom. 3. in Acts.* It was in other places as at *Dublin* heretofore, *Episcopus tantum intra muros Episcopale officium exercet* ; vid. *Ush. Irish Relig. p. 63.* So *Bitectum* in *Naples*, whose Diocess *non excedit muros Urbis*, as *Miraeus* tells us, *notit. p. 267.* And *Ragusi* an Archbishops Seat, *iisdem fere finibus quibus urbis mania*, in *Bodin.* Accordingly the *περιχία*, by which they will have us to understand a Diocess, is said frequently to be *ἐν τῇ πόλει*, of which there are instances more than enough in *Eusebius*, *τῆς ἐν ἐρέσῳ περιουσίας ἐπίσκοπος*, *l. 5. c. 21.* the Bilshop of the Diocess in *Ephesus*, and of the Diocess in *Alexandria*, *l. 2. c. 23.* and in *Corinth*, *l. 4. c. 22.* and in *Sardis*, and in *Hierapolis*, *l. 4. c. 25.* and in *Cæsarea*, *l. 6. c. 21.* and so the Diocess in *Tarsus*, in *Iconium*, in *Jerusalem*, in *Laodicea*, *l. 7. c. 22. 26.* Now those that profess a singular Reverence for Antiquity, cannot imagine that the Ancient Churches would have thus acted if apprehensive of any intention in

in the Apostles that there should be no Bishop in the Territory but he who had the City. Indeed it will be manifest that the Apostles designed there should be such Bishops (as they instituted) in Countrey Towns, and not in Cities only, if we may explain that to *Titus*, by *Acts* 14. 23. (*When they had ordained them Elders in every Church,*) as those Prelatists do who make them equipollent, and by *Elders* in both places understand *Bishops*, and will have a City and Bishop to be adequate; inferring from the former that every City should have a Bishop: for why may it not as well be inferr'd from the latter, that Church and Bishop are adequate, and every Church should have such a Bishop as the Scripture speaks of? I am sure there is as good ground for it, since the very reason why a City was to have a Bishop, was, because there was a Church in it, (in so much as where there were not Christians enough in a City to constitute a Church, it is acknowledged no Bishop was placed in it,) and therefore when there was enough in a Countrey Town, (as there soon might be, considering how few were then accounted enough to make a Church,) it had and ought to have a Bishop: for the obligation of the Rule extends as far as the reason of it teacheth.

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The Church of old was so apprehensive of this, that even in latter Ages, when a Countrey Town was more addicted to the Religion of Christ than a great City to which it belonged, they thought such a Town or Village as worthy of a Bishop as the great City. An instance whereof we have in *Maiuma*, (honoured upon this account with the Name *Constantia*,) it was *μαῖον*, says *Strabo*, the Port of *Gaza* in *Palestine*, seven furlongs from that City, *l. 16.* and counted part of the City, *περὶ ἑλπίον ὡς τῆς πόλεως*, *Soz. l. 5. c. 4.* That being better affected to Christianity than *Gaza*, (which is noted as *very Heathenish*,) tho' the City had a Bishop for some Christians in it, yet the Village was thought as worthy to have one. And when the Bishops of *Gaza* would have reduced the place under their Jurisdiction, and left it without a Bishop, (being disfranchised by *Julian*,) and urged that it was not lawfull for one City to have two Bishops, *μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι μίᾳ πόλει δύο ἐπισκόπους περιεῖναι*; a National Council decrees in favour of *Maiuma*, ordains it a Bishop, and so it continued an Episcopal Seat, with *distinct Altar and Territory*, as *Sozom.* declares, *l. 5. c. 3.* Yea when a City was replenished with Christians, as *Corinth*, if the Town belonging to it had as many as would make

make a Church, which *Cenchrea* had, (one of the Ports of *Corinth*,) it was thought fit to have a Bishop also. Thus the Author of the *Constitutions*, (a Writer of credit enough with Prelatists in other things,) naming the Bishops made by the Apostles in several places, tells us, that *Lucius* was by *Paul* made Bishop of *Cenchrea*, l. 7. c. 48.

It may be said further, that those that will give credit to the Premises, must think the ancient Bishopricks crowded so close together, as to be more like our Parishes than such Diocesses as became the honour of a Bishop; but they will not be so credulous, who see instances enough in their own Countrey and other parts of Christendom near us, viz. *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, &c. of Bishopricks of another size to evince the contrary; those of another World must be perswaded to believe this, since they see nothing like it in this.

Ans. This is because there is so little or nothing of the ancient Bishop now to be seen, (unless amongst those who have seen the thing so abused, as they shun the Name.) The instances touched, are of Bishopricks of a latter erection, and not conformed to the more ancient model. The Bishops *maxima*, of old was but like

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a modern Parish; the modern Diocesses are now as big as the ancient Provinces: for a Province was the same with them that a Shire is with us. A Bishops Jurisdiction of this latter Edition extended further than many a Metropolitans of the former; such a Precinct of ground as had a hundred Bishops in the Elder and Better times, was thought little enough for one or two in those corrupter and more degenerate Ages. When Bishops were planted in the parts here objected, it was expected Bishopricks should be richly endowed, (a thing neither known, nor looked for by the ancient Bishops,) and such a bounty being rare, the Bishopricks must be fewer; more respect was had of the state and Grandure of the Bishop, than regard of his Duty and Charge. So he had but Territory and Revenue enough, there was little or no Consideration whether there were a possibility to perform the Duty of a Pastour to the hundred or thousandth part of those committed to his Pastoral Charge. There were more of that humour than those whom *Leo* complains of, *Dominari magis quam consulere subditis querunt*. What *Anthimus* was charged with, was the Character of too many,

τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μέγας καὶ ἀξίωμα ἔπνευματικὴν ψυχῶν ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι λογιζόμενος ἀλλ' ὅτι πῶς

πλάττει

πλητύνει ἀρχὴν διὰ τοῦτο τῆς μείζονος ὑπερβολῆς, Conc.
C. P. sub Menna.

Some of the first of this latter Edition were our *Saxon* Bishops; their number was designed by Pope *Gregory* in the beginning of the seventh Age, but not settled in his time, nor till after his Successor had assumed the Title of Universal Bishop; no nor then neither according to the first designment: for *Gregory* appointed twelve Bishops in the Province of *York*, where for many Ages after there were but three; and he would have them placed so near together, as they might easily meet when there was occasion, *Respons. ad. 8. Interrog. Ita volumus Episcopos ordinare ut ipsi sibi longo intervallo minime distinguantur.* And the Synod at *Heradford* in that Age, collecting some heads out of the ancient Canons, which they determined should be observed in *England*, this is the ninth of them, *In commune tractatum est ut plures Episcopi crescente numero fidelium auferentur*, *Spelm. p. 153.*

The difference betwixt the modern and ancient Models, is apparent in *England* and *Ireland*. *Patrick* in the beginning of the fourth Age establishes three hundred sixty five Bishops in that lesser *Island*; whereas *England* in the seventh Age must not have twenty. I need not add, that the *German*

establiſhment of Biſhops was long after the *Engliſh*, tho' this was after the ancient mold was broken.

It was the humour of thoſe latter Ages, inſtead of multiplying, to reduce Biſhopricks. In *Phœnicia*, there had been at leaſt fourteen Biſhops; the Weſtern Chriſtians, when they had conquered thoſe parts, were content with four; and whereas there had been an hundred and five Biſhops under the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, by *William of Tyre's Catalogue*, in his time they were ſatiſfied with nine, or, (taking in thoſe under *Tyre* into the reckoning, being then ſubjected to that Patriarch,) thirteen; of which *Vitriacus* gives the reaſon, *ne dignitas Episcopalis vileſceret*, *Hiſt. Orient. l. 1. c. 53*.

Under the Patriarch of *Antioch*, there had been above one hundred and ſixty Biſhops; but then under the *Latins* they were reduced to ſix Metropolitans and ſix Biſhops, *Vid. Mir. not. p. 82*. In *Creet* they will have us believe there were anciently one hundred Biſhops, yet in the account of *Leo Sophus* the Emperour, about *Ann. 880*. there were but twelve, and the number leſſened afterwards, *id. ibid. p. 283*. In *Sardinia*, belonging to the Prefecture of *Rome*, there is not half ſo many as formerly; nor half the number in *Sicily*; and the retrenchment in *Ireland* I need not ſpeak of.

C A P.

C H A P. VII.

IT may be said, *That the Bishops Church consisted of no more than could personally communicate together, meerly because there were no more Christians in the First Age, than could meet in one Place; not because they held themselves obliged to admit no more.* And this appears, because when Christians in the Bishops Precinct were multiplied beyond the capacity of holding personal Communion, (as they were in the greater Cities, at least in after Ages) yet they still continued under one Bishop, as one Church.

Ans. Till the state of the Church was greatly corrupted, there are but few Instances hereof in comparison of those who retained the Primitive Form of Churches. And the reason why they did not transgress the antient bounds, was not meerly for want of Temptation, or because (as is suggested) they had not numbers to enlarge their Churches beyond the Primitive limits; but because they thought themselves concerned, not to have them too large for *personal Inspection and Communion*. There are several rules which they would have observed, by which this is sufficiently declared.

The Council at *Sardica*, *Can. 6. anno 347.* determines, that a Bishop should not be made in a Village, or little Town, for which one Presbyter
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alone is sufficient, and gives this reason, *because it is not necessary to place Bishops there, lest their Name and Authority be rendred despicable.* Thereby signifying, that it might be necessary, and no disparagement to Episcopacy, to have a Bishop in such places for which one Presbyter was not enough; they add, that when *the People in a Town shall grow so numerous, (viz. that one Presbyter will not suffice, as the coherence requires us to understand it) that place is worthy of a Bishop, and ought to have one.* So that in the Judgment of above 340 Bishops, in any place where a Presbyter needs an assistant, there a Bishop should be constituted.

Secondly, The People under a Bishop were to meet all together upon many other occasions, besides their assembling with him for Worship. A Bishop was not only to be chosen by all the People, but was to be ordained in the presence of them all. *Requiritur in Sacerdote ordinando etiam Populi presentia*, says Jerom, cited by Gratian, *Caus. 8. quest. 1.*

Those that were in the state of Penitents, were to express their Repentance, not only before the Bishop, and all the Ministry, but in the presence of all the People, *in notitia multorum, vel etiam totius Plebis agere penitentiam non recuset*, August. *Hom. 49.* So did Natalius, as Eusebius declares, *In Lacrymas & miserationes omnem provocavit Ecclesiam.* Hist. l. 5. c. ult. And thus does Tertulian describe a Penitent. *lib. de pudicit. Omnium*
Lacry.

Lacrymas suadentem, omnium vestigia lambentem, &c.

When they were reconciled, this was done by Imposition of Hands, not only of the Bishop, but the whole Clergy, and that when all the People were present : *Cum omnes fideles interessent*, says *Alba Spintus*. l. 2. p. 410. or as *Sozomen* describes it, τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλῆθος, The whole multitude of the Church shedding tears ; so *Jerom* of *Fabiola*, *Epist. ad Ocean. Episcopo Presbyteris & omni Populo collachrymantibus*--- *Recepta sub oculis omnis Ecclesiæ Communione.*

Thirdly, The Bishop was obliged to such duties, and so many, in reference to the People under his Charge, that it was impossible for him to perform them, to more than a single Church. Let me point at some few of them.

He was to be careful, that those who sought admission were duly *qualified*, and to suffer none to enter, but such as upon tryal shewed themselves to be real Christians. *vid. Enseb. vit. Constant. l. 4. c. 64.*

He was to observe those who *walked disorderly*, and to admonish, reprove or exclude them as he saw occasion.

He was to take notice of the Temper of such as were in the *state of Penitents*, and what fruits of Repentance appeared in them, and accordingly to reconcile them sooner, or to prolong the course of their Repentance. *Conc. Nic. can. 11.*

He was to feed the whole Flock, preaching to them frequently. *Cyprian* says he failed not to do this to *all the Brethren*, *Nec universæ fraternitati---Allocutio & persuasio nostra defuit*, l. 3. *Epist.* 5. And so the antient Bishops were wont to do, more then once a week, sometimes every day.

He was to Administer the Lord's Supper frequently, to all in full Communion, they all receiving, *non de aliorum manu quam Præsidentium*, *Tertull.* *de coron. milit.*

He was to watch over the Souls of those under his Charge, as being accountable for them all. Thus the Antients thought Bishops concerned in that passage of the Apostle, *Heb.* 13. 17. *vid. Isidore.* l. 5. *Epist.* 323. *Prosp.* *de vita contemplativa.* l. 1. c. 20. And *Chrysostom* says, this was it that made his Soul to tremble continually, *ὁ γὰρ φόβος συνεχῶς κατὰσείει μὲς τὴν ψυχὴν.* *in loc.*

He was not only to observe their Conversations but to acquaint himself with the state of their Souls, *περιπισκοπεῖν πάντοθεν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἕξιν.* *Id.* *de Sacerd. Orat.* 2.

He was to accommodate himself, not only in publick, but in private, to the Exigencies of their several Conditions. Many of the Duties he was obliged to on this account, are enumerated by *Isidore of Pelusium*; who having specified abundance, concludes, that there were many more than all these. *καὶ πολλῶ τέτων πλείονα.* l. 3. *Epist.* 216. And he gives a large account of
more,

more, *l. 1. Epist. 149.* And we shall see *Chrysostom* offering more full and punctual Evidence of the Premises, in the next Chapter.

Fourthly, There was to be but *one Communion Table* in a Church. This was long continued; so that when their Churches were overgrown, and become too numerous for one Table to serve them all with conveniency; yet they used divers shifts, rather than they would seem quite to abandon it, and such as better Ages were not acquainted with. Whereas of old, the whole Church, Pastor and People, were wont to joyn together in the Eucharist every Lord's Day; it was now thought sufficient to communicate with the Bishop at some special Solemnities. *Concil. Agath. Can. 38.* And when there were so many assembled at such a time, as one Church could not hold them all at once, they thought it advisable to celebrate twice in one day, rather than all the People should not communicate at the same place. It was *Leo* his advice to *Dioscorus* of *Alexandria*, consulting with him about that case, wherein its like both *Rome* and *Alexandria*, two of the greatest Churches in the World, were specially concerned. *Cum plenior festivitas, conventum Populi numerosioris indixerit, & ad eam tanta fidelium multitudo convenerit quam recipere Basilica simul una non possit; Sacrificii oblatio indubitantur iteretur, ne his tantum admissis ad hanc devotionem qui primi advenierint, videantur hi qui postmodum confluerint,*

non recepti, &c. *Epist.* 81. c. 2. Another device invented for this purpose, was the *Eulogia*, parts of the consecrated Bread sent to those of the Bishops Flock, who did not or could not communicate in the same place with the Bishop, and the rest of his Church. This is said to be the Invention of *Melchiades* Bishop of *Rome*, about ann. 313. as *Baronius* reckons. So that it may seem from hence, that the Christians at *Rome* were not so numerous before this, but that they might communicate together. The end of it was, as *Innocent ad Decentium* expresses it, that those to whom it was sent might not think themselves parted from our Communion on that day, *Se à nostra communione maxime illa die non judicent separatos*. They thought all that belonged to the same Bishop obliged to communicate in one place ; but when they were grown too numerous to observe the Primitive Order, the People must be satisfied with this Expedient, and think it enough that they had the same Bread, the same day, though not at the same Table. Some sense of the Obligation for personal Communion still remained, which kept them from running quite out of sight of it at first.

There were other Principles derived from Scripture, by which their Churches were regulated in the best Ages ; which, if they had not been neglected afterwards, the Churches even in the greatest Cities, where they were most numerous, had been kept longer within compass.

Let

Let us view this only in two Instances, and observe how they thought themselves obliged to proceed, in admitting Members, and excluding scandalous sinners from Communion.

For the first, they thought none fit for Christian Communion, but whom they judged to be real Christians; and counted none such without competent Knowledge and visible Holiness. These Qualifications they required in all, before they were initiated.

In order to knowledg, those who desired admission, were first placed in the state of *Catechumens*; and in that station order was taken for their Instruction, both privately (*κατ' ιδίαν*) *Orig. contra Cels. c. 3. p. 116.* and publicly in the Christian Assemblies; in reference to which they are called *audientes* by *Cyprian, l. 3. epist. 117.* and *inter auditorum tyrocinia deputati*, by *Tertulian, lib. de pœnitentia.* And before they were initiated, they did give an account of their Proficiency in the knowledge of Christ to the Officers of the Church, *Bishop and Presbyters.*

They required also a holy and unblameable Life; such a Conversation as had visible Holiness in the face of it, in those whom they admitted to Communion. *Justin Martyr* says, they initiated none but those who would *βίβν ἑταῶς*, live according to the rule of the Gospel, *apol. 2. p. 159.* And *p. 141.* he concludes, that all else were but nominal Christians. *Origen* declares, that they admitted none as *Probationers*, but

those who did sufficiently shew they were fully resolved καλῶς εἶναι, *ibid.* l. 3. p. 146. It was not only a Reformation of greater Enormities, but unblameableness in respect of smaller Sins, which they counted necessary. So *Chrysostom*, I have said it before, and now I speak it; I will not cease to assert it, that if any one have not reformed τὰ ἐλαττώματα τῶν τρόπων, the failings of his ways, let him not be initiated, *Homil.* 22. ad populum Antioch. *Origen* tells *Celsus*, that amongst Christians those only might be initiated, who were pure, not only from heinous Crimes, ἀπὸ παντὸς μίσους, but also those that are counted smaller Offences, τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἱομιζομένων ἀμαρτημάτων, l. 3. p. 158. *Lactantius* comparing the Heathen Religion with the Christian, makes this one principal difference, That the Heathen admitted all promiscuously; reckoning up divers counted more flagitious; *Hic vero*, amongst Christians, says he, *levi communique peccato locus nullus est*. What then is required he had said before, *bona mens, purum pectus, vita innocens*; a good Mind, a pure Heart, and an innocent Life, l. 5. de just. c. 20. And *St. Austin* signifies, That according to the antient Custom, grounded upon the most evident Truth, *ex illa liquidissima veritate veniens* (i.e. the Word of God) none were admitted into the Church of God on Earth, who were visibly such as the Scripture excludes from the Kingdom of God in Heaven, de fid. & oper. c. 18.

They

They required innocency and unblameableness of Life, proceeding from inward renovation; so *Tertullian de baptis. Non ideo abluimur, &c.* We are not initiated, that we may give over sinning, but because we have left it, our Hearts being already cleansed, *jam Corde loti.* And *Origen* thus delivers it; After those that are converted, make such proficiency, as that they appear *κέκασθαι ὑπὸ τῆς λόγῃς*, to be sanctified by the divine Word, and to the utmost of their Power, to live in a better manner; then at length we call them to our Mysteries, *ibid. p. 158.* And a little after, That the Mysteries of the Religion of Jesus, are duely delivered to those only who are holy and pure, *μόνοις ἁγίοις καὶ καθαροῖς*

Nor did they think it sufficient, that those who desired admission into the Church, did make some profession of what was counted prerequisite; nor would they admit them immediately upon such profession; but it was thought needful to keep them under Trial, and to continue them in the state of *Probationers* for some time. The *Council of Nice* rectifying some disorders crept in against Rule, *can. 2.* begins with this, That the *Catechumens* were admitted too soon into Communion; to redress this, they decree, That no such thing should be done for the future, and give the Reason for their Decree, *καὶ γὰρ καὶ χρόνος δεῖ κατηχησμένῳ*, There must be some time for Probation, but how much, they determine not. The Synod at *Elvira*, where the Famous *Hosius*
was

was present, is more punctual, and will have the time of their *Expectancy*, if they be of good Conversation, to be about two years, *can. 42.* And about two or three years did *St. Austin* continue in this state, as may be collected out of his *Book of Confession*; he was Converted about the thirty first year of his Age, and continued a *Catechumen* till he was thirty four years old, and was then solemnly admitted by *Ambrose* at *Milain*.

But though the ordinary time of their continuing *Probationers* was about two or three years, yet it sometimes fell out to be much longer; for in case they gave offence to the Church, by falling into sin, they were stayed in the station where they sinned, or in one lower, (into which they were thrust down) more or less, according to the nature of the Offence; sometimes three years, as the *Council of Nice* determines, *can. 14.* sometimes five years, as the *Council* at *Elvira*, *can. 73.* and 11. sometimes more, *can. 68.*

In this interval, while they were *Probationers*, and in the state of *Expectancy*, not misdeeming themselves so as to be quite thrown out, their Conversations were carefully inspected. *Origen* tells us, *there were Officers in the Church* for this purpose, *φιλομενεῖν τῆς βίης*, to search strictly into the lives and demeanour of such who sought to joyn themselves to the Church. And also care was taken that the state of their Souls should

should be enquired into. The same Author, to stop the mouth of *Celsus*, reproaching Christianity as entertaining the vilest of the People, gives an account of the Churches strictness and circumspection, manifested in admitting any to their Communion. The Christians, says he, to the utmost of their ability, προεασαίσαντες τῶν ἀκούειν σφῶν βελομένων τὰς ψυχὰς, *do first exquisitely search the Souls of those who would be their Hearers, viz.* in order to a full Admission; they bring them to the Touchstone (εἰς βάσανον) to try whether they be counterfeit. *cont. Selsum. 23.*

They were strict, and shewed great caution, especially where they had cause of suspicion. An Instance we have in *Euseb. l. 4. de vit. Constant. c. 64.* *Constantine* having put forth a severe Edict against those who infested the Churches, and opposed the Doctrines and Truths of Christianity; the Pastors apprehended that this might occasion many to dissemble, and pretend the embracing of Christianity, when they designed nothing but their own security: In this Case they took this course; *they endeavoured with all accurateness to discern which of these were sincere, which counterfeits; and as for those who sought to joyn with the Church in Hypocrisie, covering themselves with Sheeps cloathing, those they rejected; but those who did this with a sincere Soul, when they had tryed them a competent time, δοκιμαζούτες χρόνῳ, after sufficient Experience of them μετὰ τὴν αὐτάρεχιν διάπειραν, they admitted them into the Church.*

For

For the second, I shall say the less of it, because more commonly insisted on. As they were careful not to admit any unworthy Persons into the Church; so they thought themselves obliged to expel those, who after admission did manifest their unworthiness. It was the sence of the universal Church, *That scandalous Sinners were to be excluded from Communion.* Nor did they thus proceed only for the most atrocious Enormities, but also for sins of less provocation; this was their Course in *minoribus peccatis*, as Cyprian declares again and again, l. 3. *Epist.* 14. and *Epist.* 16. These so excluded were on no terms to be re-admitted, till they gave Evidence of a true Repentance. Take it in the words of Dionysius of Alexandria, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ μετάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἔσποτες; *having examined them, and discerning their Conversion and Repentance to be such as would be accepted by him, who wills not so much the death of a Sinner, as his Repentance, they received them in.* Euseb. Hist. l. 6. c. 32.

It was not enough that they professed themselves to be penitent; they were not wont to take their words, and reconcile them upon their bare Profession, but would have some proof of the sincerity of such Profession; and so kept them off from full Communion, in the state of Penitents several years, in some cases for many years. This may seem too great severity; but the *Council of Nice* qualifies it, First laying down this general Rule, *That the inward state of such,*
and

and the fruits of their Repentance be observed : for whoever with all Fear and continued Tears, and good Works do demonstrate their Conversion ; not with words only, but really and effectually, after some moderate stay in that state, the Bishop may deal more favourably with them, that is, by admitting them more early, than the Canons do in other Cases allow. Can. II.

Such Orders as these took place amongst Christians, while the Honour of Christ and Religion, the Purity of the Church, her Peace with God, and Security from contagious Members, and Reproach of Adversaries ; were more considerable than the *Greatness of a Bishop*. And if these Rules had been conscientiously observed, and the Practice of the Churches in the best Ages, so far as herein they followed the conduct of the Scriptures, had been imitated ; the Churches afterwards could not easily have grown to such an *unweldy and irregular bigness*.

But there was another Reason besides what is suggested, why the Bishops in after Ages would have their Churches as great as possible ; and that is an Affectation of Greatness ; a Humour, how much so ever unbecoming Pastors, who should be Examples to the Flock, as in other things, so in *Humility, and contempt of outward Grandure* ; yet this prevailed too much in part of the fourth Age, though it was more predominant afterwards. By this they were instigated to transgress the antient Bounds, and to neglect

neglect the Rules and Practice of the Churches in their purer state, and to innovate every way which tended to promote their Greatness, and served to gratifie that Ambition, which was so common, even in Persons otherwise of a good Character, that it seems to have lost the resentment of a Crime. And those who have the greatest Charity for them, that Reason will admit, can scarce think those innocent in the particular before us, who were apparently guilty in Instances just of the same nature, and of such Connexion therewith, as one may well judge them unsevered, if not unseparable.

In the Age we speak of, which seems too justly styled *Ambitionis Seculum*, (though those, whose designs agree with the Humour of it, have esteemed it most imitable) scarce any in the Church could keep their own, that had any there greater than themselves; (some Bishops, and not only the Presbyters found it so) the great still encroaching upon those, whose lower Condition made them obnoxious to the Ambition and Usurpation of the more Potent.

When some of the Mother Cities had got the Bishops in the lesser Towns under them by Custom, they got it confirmed by Canon in the Council of Nice; And so came the preheminance of *Metropolitans* to be authorized.

When the Empire was divided into Diocesses, the Bishops of the Cities where the Governours of those *Exarchats* resided, advanced as
far

far above the Metropolitans as they had got above those Bishops.

And then the Bishops of the greatest Cities, soared as high above the Exarchs and Primates, as those had leaped above the Metropolitans. All in little more than a 100 Years, the Time of the four first general Councils.

In that unhappy Time, what struggling was there in Bishops of all sorts for more Greatness, and larger Power! What tugging at Councils and Court for these purposes!

A Bishop of a Country Parish would be striving to get another Parish under him. The Third Council at Carthage, *can. 46.* takes notice of such Bishops, and their attempts to enlarge their Bishopricks beyond the Bounds allowed them; and make a Rule against such ambitious Encroachments.

When a Bishop had part of a City, he was unsatisfied till he had got the whole. Thus *Flavianus* at *Antioch*, would not suffer a Bishop to be made to succeed *Euagrius* over that part of the Flock which he, and *Paulinus* before him, had ruled there; that he might have the City intire to himself. And no wonder that he did not stick at this, if, as *Sozomen* says, he broke the Agreement, and his Oath which confirmed it between *Paulinus* and him, to make his way to the Episcopal Chair. *Sozomen. Hist. l. 7. c. 11. 15.*

When

When a Bishop had a great City, yet some Village in the Vicinity he could not endure should be exempted from his Power. *Mainma* found this to its trouble. This being a Place near to *Gaza*, and by some counted part of that City, was by *Constantine* honoured with the Privileges of a City, and the Name of *Constantia*, for its Affection to Christianity; but being upon the same account reduced to the Condition of a Village by *Julian*, the Bishops of *Gaza* took this advantage; and leaving it no Bishop, (as it had before) would have reduced it under their own Jurisdiction. *Soz. Hist. l. 5. c. 3.*

Not satisfied with one City, some would have two. So four Bishops in *Europa*, a Province in *Thrace*, got each of them two Cities under him; one of them both *Heraclea* and *Panion*, another *Byze* and *Arcadiopolis*, the third *Celas* and *Calliopolis*, the fourth *Sabsadias* and *Aphroditias*. So *Florentius* Bishop of *Tebur*, would have wrested *Momentum* from the Bishop of *Ursus*, which *Innocent* accused him of in his Epistle to him. This was against the Rule and general Practice of the Church; but the Bishops concerned, managed a Plea for it in the Council at *Ephesus*, pretending it was a peculiar Custom of those Cities, *Conc. Eph. act. 7. ad finem.*

Not contented with a City or two, they would have all in a Province under them; so *Cyril* contends with *Acatius*, (*Soz. l. 4. c. 24.*) and his Successors at *Jerusalem*, with those at *Cesarea*,

Cæsarea, till they had got the Province (nay three in one) and the Metropolitcal preheminnence from them; though *Cæsarea* was regularly the Metropolis of *Palestine*. vid. *Jerom. ad Pammach*: *Juvenal* having after this attempted it in the General Council at *Ephesus*, carried it in that at *Chalcedon*; hereby he who was but a private Bishop before, subject to the Bishop of *Cæsarea*, got him and three Metropolitans more under him, and about 100 Bishops besides; and thus he also robbed two Patriarchs, getting *Rabba* and *Berytas* from him of *Alexandria*, as he did *Cæsarea* and *Scythopolis* from him of *Antioch*, as *William* of *Tyra* tells us, *Vid. Bart. l. 23. p. 323.*

When they had a Province, they would yet reach at some more Cities; whereby *Anthimus* of *Tyana* gave so much trouble to *Basil*. see *Naz. in laud. Basil.*

When they had no hopes of the Province, and the compassing of it seemed not feasible, they would gape at the Title, or part of the Province; so he of *Nice* becomes titular Metropolitan of *Bithynia*, when the Council at *Chalcedon* * would not allow him the Cities in prejudice of *Nicomedia*, the more antient Metropolis. *Concil Chalced. Act. 6. 13.*

And this past after into Example; and hence we

O

meet

* So a considerable part of the Province of *Tyre* had been wrested from *Photius* Bishop there, and settled upon the Upstart Metropolitan of *Berytus*, had not the Council of *Chalcedon* (tho' it authorized many other Usurpations) hindered it. *Vid. Art. 4. Concil. Calced.*

meet with so many titular Metropolitans in the list of *Leo Sophus*, and others; in that of *Nil. Doxopatrias* 34. in that of the Emperour *Leo* 39. in that published by *Carol. à St. Paulo* 41. all in one Patriarchate, that of C. P.

When they had got one Province, they would stickle hard for another. So that part of *France*, which was called *Narbonensis*, being divided into two Provinces, and *Proculus* having got one of them under him, strives for the other, and a Synod in those parts (*Taurinat. Can.*) so far favours him, as to grant him the Preheminence there for his Life.

As if one or two Provinces had not been enough, they reached at more. Thus the Exarchs or Primates got a whole cluster of Provinces into their grasp at once. Thus the Bishop of *Ephesus* attempted to advance himself over all the Provinces in the *Asian* Diocess, and the Bishop of *Cæsarea* over those in the Diocess of *Pontus*, and he of *Heraclea* over those in the Diocess of *Thrace*; but the Bishop of *Constantinople*, being more Potent, defeated them of all save the Title: So the Bishop of *Antioch*, who seems but reckoned amongst Metropolitans by the *Council of Nice*, not content with his proper Province, he challengeth the rest of the Provinces in the Diocess of the *Orient*, and seems confirmed therein by the *Council at Constantinople, Can. 2.* So *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, and Metropolitan, not satisfied with his own Province, strives

strives also for the Province of *Narbon*, and that also of *Vienna*; he was indeed therein opposed by *Leo* the First of *Rome*, but with a more ambitious Design than that which he appeared against, see *Leo Epist. ad Viennenses*.

When they had got a whole Exarchate or Diocess, consisting of many Provinces, yet one Province more they would contend for: So *Alexander* of *Antioch*, not satisfied with all the other Provinces of the *Oriental* Diocess, would needs reduce that of *Cyprus* too, and deludes *Innocent* the First Bishop of *Rome*, by misrepresenting the Case, to give encouragement to this ambitious Attempt, see *Epist.* 18. But the *Council* of *Ephesus* would not be so easily deluded, who takes occasion from hence to declare against the Ambition of Prelates, *Can.* 8. There were fifteen Provinces in the Diocess of the *Orient*; the Bishop of *Antioch* was so far from having all those subjected to him before, that he had not the whole City under him till the death of *Euagrius*, (*Paulinus* his Successor in a Bishoprick made up of one part of the City) in the latter end of the Fourth Age, *Anno* 394; yet when he had swept fourteen of them under his Power, and invaded them without any Authority, he would not be contented without that of *Cyprus* also.

Nay, two whole Diocesses, though consisting of more than twenty Provinces, (*vid. Theod. Hist.* l. 5. c. 28.) would not serve some.

* He was but a private Bishop, inferiour to the Bishop of *Heraclea*, a great part of the Fourth Age: But the Council at *C. P.* giving him an honorary Precedence *πρὸς τὴν τιμὴν*, next to the Bishop of *Rome*, (the common rise of

Usurpations in the Church) the Bishops of that See were encouraged thereby to encroach upon the adjoining Provinces, this they did successively, so that their Usurpations grew Customary, and Custom was the Plea they used in the Council of *Chalcedon*, and prevailed for the authorizing of their ambitious Practices: (as it had prevailed with the Council of *Nice*, for the establishing of Metropolitans) So that three Exarchichal Diocesses are subjected to him, containing no less than twenty eight Provinces, wherein eighty one Metropolitans, 574 (or 640) Bishops, and thirty nine Archbishops: For so many the *notitia* gives account of in the declining time of the *Eastern Empire*, when in all probability the numbers of Bishops were much lessened. Such a prodigious Advance had the Ambition of the Bishops of *C. P.* made in a little time, the interval betwixt the second and fourth general Council: Nor were they contented with the Power of Consecrating the Metropolitans of all those Provinces, but challenged a right to ordain the inferiour Bishops, as appears by *Aetius*, *Protest. in Conc. Chalced. act. vid. Socrat. l. 7. c. 28.* and to depose both them and their Superiours.

And not only *Eudoxius*, *Nectarius*, *Atticus Simplicius*, *Proclus* and *Amatolius* are charged with these Usurpations, but *Chrysostom* (the best Bishop that City ever had) is said to have a hand in them. He ordained fifteen Bishops in *Asia*, and deposed thirteen, *Socr. l. 6. c. 10. Soz. l. 8. c. 6.* He deposed also *Gerentius*, Metropolitan of *Nicomedia* in the Diocess of *Pontus*. This is owned in the *Calcedon Council*, *Act. l. 11. 13.* that they had reason to believe that his proceedings here-
in

* He of *Constantinople*, having usurped upon the Diocess of *Pontus*, and *Asia* before; in fine, gets them and those of *Thrace* settled on him; near thirty Provinces in all. *Council. Chalced. Can. 28.*

ing of ne, ace ro-ed, en-so lea ri-the har no ns, na-ryn ch he se-he ut oy to
 in were not the issues of Ambition, but of great Zeal for the reforming those Churches then intolerably corrupted in several Ages after the *Saracens* Invasions of the *Eastern* Empire.

And the Bishops of *Rome*, not content with the Gobbets which filled the Mouths of others, would have swallowed up all. That this was their design in the former part of the fifth Age, is apparent enough; the Edict of *Valentinian* the Third, procured by *Leo* 1. signifies it plainly. And what indirect Arts, divers of those Bishops before *Leo* made use of, to subject the *African* Churches to *Rome*, is too well known to be mentioned.

There are too many such instances of the Ambition of those times; but these are enough to proceed on. It can be no wonder, that those who were still designing, and struggling for more and more, as if they never thought they had enough; were not willing to part with any thing they had, nor distribute their overgrown Churches under the Conduct of other Bishops, when they thought all little enough for themselves.

CHAP. VIII.

LET us before we conclude, take notice what thoughts some, of the best and most eminent Bishops of the fourth and fifth Ages, had

of a very large Bishoprick, and a flock exceeding numerous ; when they express their Judgment and Consciences herein ; thereby we shall perceive, that if the Church could have been ordered, according to the Principles, Desires, and Endeavours of the most pious and conscientious, their Diocesses would not have been so excessively numerous in the fourth or fifth Ages, above what they were in the third. *Chrysostom* may satisfy us here ; And to avoid tediousness, I shall produce him only, whom *Isidore of Pelusium* styles τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὀφθαλμος, and elsewhere θεοπέσιος and θεοφόρος ; and who deserves as much honour, for his generous and vigorous appearing against the corruption and degeneracy of his Age ; as *Athanasius* for his opposition to *Arrius*, *hic hostibus bellum intulit, ille vitiis*. First, he frequently declares, that it is incomparably better the Church should consist but of very few that are good ; then of multitudes that are bad, and walk not according to the rule of Christ. Secondly, that the enormous greatness of Churches, and the scandalous multitudes which swell'd them into such a bigness, was of mischievous consequence, Thirdly, therefore he concludes, that tho' a Church were thereby reduced to a small number, yet the unworthy multitudes ought to be expell'd the Communion of the Church, and deprived of the Priviledges of Christians.

For the *first*, τὶ γὰρ ὄχλος, &c. ' Tell me what
 can a multitude avail us ? Wilt thou understand

that

' that the (desirable) multitude are the holy, not
 ' the many--- A great multitude (beloved) when
 ' it observes not the will of God, is nothing bet-
 ' ter then none at all; I pray, and desire, and
 ' would freely endeavour that the Church may
 ' be adorned with *many*, but with *many* that are
 ' *good*; but if this cannot be, I would have the
 ' good, though but few. Do you not see, that
 ' it is better to have one pretious Stone, then
 ' thousands of half pence? Do you not see that
 ' it is better to have an Eye that is sound, then
 ' to have two encumbered and blinded with a
 ' swelling Carnosity? Do you not see, that it is
 ' better to have one sound Sheep, then thousands
 ' full of the rot? Do you not see, that a few
 ' good Children are better then many that are
 ' naught? Do you not see, that in the Kingdom
 ' there are few, in Hell there are many? What
 ' care I for a multitude, what advantage in them?
 ' None at all. *in Act. 3. Hom. 8. p. 655, 156.*
 ' *Edit. Savil.*

' Elsewhere, one (says he,) that does the will
 ' of God is better then thousands of Transgres-
 ' sors.---- What care I for a multitude; 'tis but
 ' a more plentiful fuel for the Fire; and this
 ' you may know by the Body, how that a mo-
 ' derate diet with Health, is better then Luxury
 ' with a Mischief.-----The one is Nourishment,
 ' the other a Disease. And this may be seen in
 ' War, it is better to have one expert and vali-
 ' ant man, then many thousands that are unskil-

ful ; for these not only effect nothing themselves, but hinder those that might. And this one may see in Navigation ; it is better to have two skilful Mariners, then an innumerable multitude of those that have no skill ; for these will sink the Vessel.----Let no man tell me, that we are great multitudes,---And that it is so, observe, he that has many Servants, if they be untoward, how many grievous things will he suffer ? To him that has none, this seems a grievance, that he is not waited on ; but he that has those that are naught, ruines himself, together with them ; and the mischief is greater, for it is not so intollerable for a man to serve himself, as to be beating and fighting with others. This I say, lest any should admire the Church for its numerousness, let him rather study to make it good. In *Acts, Hom.* 24. p. 752. Again says he, ' It is better to offer the usual Prayers with two or three that observe the Laws of God, then to congregate a multitude of Transgressors, and such as corrupt others, *in Math. Hom.* 17. p. 125, 126. And so he prefers the state of the Church in former times, when under Persecution, the number of Christians was small, but the Persons better ; before the Condition of it in his Age, when they were many more, but much worse, *in Act. H.* 24. p. 752.

Secondly, He declares the excessive greatness of the Church through the scandalous multitudes which swelled them into such a bigness, was of

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intolerable consequence, yet was highly dishonourable to God ; a stumbling block to the Heathen, hindring their Conversion, opening their Mouths to reproach the Christian Name ; pernicious also to the better part of the Church ; likewise extremely dangerous to the Pastors, exposing them to punishment hereafter, and shame here ; and in fine, that it tended to ruine and subvert all.

First, This in his account was a high dishonour to God, *Vid. in Act. p. 752.* *Secondly*, a reproach to the Christian Name, the far greatest part of those which constituted their Churches being unworthy the Name of Christians ; the whole was denominated from the major part ; and the Church says he, (ἐξασίς ἔσθ' ἐν δεινότητι καὶ ἐπαύλει ὄντων καὶ καμέλων, *in Math. Hom. π. η. p. 544.*) ' differs nothing from a Fold for Beasts, or a Stable for Camels and Asses ; they call us the Pests ' of the World, λοιμὸν ἡμῶς καλεῖσι *in Jo. Ho. o. c. p. 858.* The Christian Name upon this account was both hated and scorned, in *Coloss. Hom. 7. p. 128.* *Thirdly*, This hindred the Conversion of the Heathen, opening their Mouths to reproach the Christian Name, *ibid.* reproving the Corruption of the generality of Christians, We, we are the cause, (says he,) that they persist in their ' Error, τὰυτὰ ἑλλήνως κατέκει ; so that we must ' give an account of this, not only for the evil ' our selves act, but for that the name of God is ' blasphemed, in *Jo. Ho. o. c. p. 857, 858.* Else-
' where,

' where, thus they always answer, when we say
 ' we are many, yea, but such as are naught, say
 ' they, in *Aſ. H.* 24. p. 752. These are occasi-
 ' ons of more blaspheming God, then if they were
 ' not Christians, *ibid.* for God is not so blasphe-
 ' med by a flagitious Heathen, as by a debauch-
 ' ed Christian, in *Jo. Hom.* 3. n. p. 840. For when
 ' we have ten thousand times confuted their Opi-
 ' nions, they upbraid us with the lives of the
 ' many congregated with us, *ὀνειδίζεισιν ἡμῶν τοῖς*
 ' *εἰς τὸν τῶν πολλῶν, Hom. in Math.* π. n. p. 543.
 ' And a little after, when we say that Christ has
 ' done great things, making Angels of Men, af-
 ' terwards an account hereof being required, and
 ' we called on to give a proof of this in the flock
 ' *ἐπιστομεζόμεθα,* our Mouths are stopped: for I
 ' fear, lest instead of Angels, I should bring forth
 ' Hogs out of the Sty, or wild Horses; And in
 ' *Coloss. Hom.* 7. p. 128. We are derided by the
 ' Heathen, and all that we say seems a Fable to
 ' them. *Fourthly,* It is pernicious to the better
 ' part of the Church. The admitting so many
 ' that were corrupt, and folding them together
 ' with the few that were sound, tended to infect
 ' the whole, and debauch all, *τὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ πλήθει.*
 ' What care I for a multitude? What advantage
 ' is it? None at all, but rather a plague to the
 ' rest: for it is all one, as if he who might have
 ' ten sound (Sheep) rather than thousands that
 ' are diseased, should mix those thousands with
 ' the ten, in *Aſ. Hom.* 17. p. 656. *Fifthly,* this
 ' tended

tended to ruine the Church utterly and overthrow all, when Pastors affected to have multitudes under their charge, though they were naught ; by this, says he, all is subverted, all is turned topsie-turvy, because even as in the Theatres, we desire multitudes, not only those that are good, in *Act. Hom. 8. p. 655. Sixthly*, This was extreemly dangerous to the Pastors, 'The many, (says he,) that are not good, procure me nothing but punishment (hereafter) and shame at present. in *Act. ibid.* More particularly, a Bishop could not take cognizance of the various Conditions of so many, nor could possibly discharge all the duties he owed them, and so could give no comfortable account of them, tho' he be accountable for every Soul, whereby it came to pass, *that it was almost impossible any Bishop should be saved.*

' A Bishop at the peril of his Soul is to take exact notice of the spiritual State of all under his charge, and constantly to perform all pastoral duties to the whole Flock. ἐπισκοπή, &c. The Episcopate, (says he,) is so called from the inspecting all, in *1 Tim. H. 10. p. 285, 286.* He ought to be an Overseer of all, bearing the burdens of all, in *Act. Hom. 3. p. 626. μυρίων (δαι) ὀφθαλμῶν πρὸς τὸ περιπισκοπεῖν πάντοθεν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἕξιν*; he had need of many thousand Eyes to look into the state of every Soul under him, which of them cannot digest bitter Remedies, and who for want of them grow careless. *de sacerdot.*

' *cerd. orat.* 2. He ought to leave nothing un-
 ' observed, but to search into all accurately, *ib.*
 ' p. 10. no speck in his flock should escape his
 ' notice ; he ought to train up his charge to an
 ' excellent temper, to admirable comeliness, look-
 ' ing every where about him, lest there be any
 ' spot, or wrinkle, or blemish, which may spoil
 ' that beauty and comeliness, *ibid. orat.* 4. p. 34.
 He will be cast into Hell if he be not thus accu-
 rate about every one ; all exactness as to himself
 will not secure him. ' A Bishop, says he, who
 ' though he order his own Life well, if he do
 ' not exactly take care of thee, and of all that
 ' are under him, to Hell he goes with the wicked.
 ' And often he that miscarries not by his own
 ' concerns, is ruined by yours, although he very
 ' well rectifie all that belongs to him, in *Jo. Hom.*
 ' π5. p. 922.

The Pastoral duties which he is to perform to
 all his flock, are many, and painful, and hazardous,
 ' when the Apostle says, ἀγρυπνεῖσι, they watch for
 ' your Souls, it speaks thousands of labours, and
 ' cares, and perils, in *Rom. Hom.* p. 226. διεγρη-
 ' γασθεαι δεῖ, he ought to be up still, and to be
 ' ardent in spirit, and, as I may say, to breath
 ' fire (πῦρ πνεῦν) and to go the rounds night
 ' and day, more then any Commander in an Ar-
 ' my, and to labour, and to toil, and to take care
 ' of, and be very solicitous for all. in *1 Tim. Hom.*
 ' 10. p. 286. λόγον μὲν δώσομεν, &c. We must give
 ' an account of all your Souls, when we have
 ' been

‘ been defective in any thing, when we have not
 ‘ comforted, or not admonished, or not con-
 ‘ vinced. in *Eph. Hom.* 11. p. 824.

This should be done, not only publicly, but
 privately also, both to Men and Women; ‘ For
 ‘ a Bishop, says he, who regards all his Flock,
 ‘ must not take care only of the men in particu-
 ‘ lar, and neglect the women, but of necessity
 ‘ must visit them when distressed, and comfort
 ‘ them when in sorrows, and rebuke them when
 ‘ they are careless, and relieve them when under
 ‘ pressures. *de Sacerd. orat.* 6. p. 49. Unless he
 daily go to their Houses---he will be much ex-
 posed. *ibid. orat.* 3. p. 29. Further he is, says he,
 accountable for all and every Soul, for all their
 sins, for the damnation of every one that perish-
 es any way through his default. in *Heb.* 13. 17.
 ὁ γὰρ φόβος, ‘ The dread of that threatening, says
 ‘ he, continually shakes my Soul; for if he that
 ‘ offends but one, *Math.* 18. 6. shall suffer so
 ‘ much, what then shall they suffer, what punish-
 ‘ ment shall they endure, under whom so many
 ‘ miscarry, &c. Want of experience will be no
 ‘ excuse, nor ignorance, nor necessity, nor force.
 ‘ One of the flock may sooner be excused for his
 ‘ own sins, then Bishops for the sins of others---
 ‘ And therefore punishment is unavoidable, if
 ‘ any one (in his charge) happen to perish.---
 ‘ We must be accountable for a business that re-
 ‘ quires the vertue of Angels. *de Sacerd. orat.* 6.
 ‘ p. 44. He is exposed to so great danger, tho’
 ‘ what

' what concerns himself be in good condition,
 ' if what belongs to thee be not well ordered,
 ' he is obnoxious, and must give a double account.
 ' in 2 *Tim. Hom.* 2. p. 336. He that has the
 ' charge of a great City, see to how great a flame
 ' he exposes himself; he shall be called to ac-
 ' count not only for the Souls that perish, (and
 ' he destroys them being one that fears not God)
 ' but for all the things that are not acted by him
 ' he shall be responsible.----Of all the sins that are
 ' committed by him, yea by all the People shall
 ' he give account. And if he that offends but
 ' one, &c. he that offends so many Souls, whole
 ' Cities and People, many thousand Souls, Men,
 ' Women, Children, Citizens, Husbandmen, those
 ' in the Cities, those in places belonging to it,
 ' What shall he undergo? If thou say thrice
 ' more then the other, thou sayest nothing; so
 ' very great is the punishment and suffering that
 ' he is liable to. In *Tit. Hom.* 1. p. 384. ἀγρυ-
 ' πνεί, &c. He watches, he hazards his own Head,
 ' he is liable to the punishment of their sins; and
 ' for this is his condition so fearful. in *Heb.*
 ' *Hom.* 34. p. 602.

Hence it is marvellous to him if any Bishops
 escape Damnation, δαυμάζω, &c. ' I wonder,
 ' says he, if any of the Bishops can ever be saved,
 ' considering the greatness of the threatening,
 ' and their negligence, any of them especially
 ' who are greedy of so great a Charge, who run
 ' upon it, ἐπιτέχοντες, in *Heb. ibid.* and in *Aē.*

' *Hom.*

' *Hom.* 3. p. 627. He calls them miserable
' Wretches that desire it, and is astonished at
' them. τὶ ἄν τις ἔπιοι, &c. What can one say to
' those Wretches, who plunge themselves into
' such an abyfs of Sufferings. Thou must give
' an account for all whom thou rulest, Women,
' Men, Children; into so great a Flame dost
' thou thrust thy own head. --- If those that are
' forced on it, be unpardonable, not well or-
' dring it; how much more those that labour for
' it? Such a one does much more deprive himself
' of all Pardon; he ought to fear and tremble, *in*
' *Heb. ibid.* Elsewhere, I am astonished, *says he,*
' at those who seek such a weighty Charge.
' Wretched and miserable man, dost thou see
' what thou seekest? canst thou answer for one
' Soul? When thou hast got this Dignity, consi-
' der to the punishment of how many Souls thou
' art liable, *in Tit. Hom.* 1. p. 384. He cries out
' as astonished at the greatness of the hazard,
' βαββαί πῶς οὐ κίνδυνος, *in Heb. Hom.* p. 602.

Before I proceed with this Excellent Person,
let us look a little back on the Premises. If there
must be so much care and watchfulness in a Bi-
shop over every Soul; if so many Duties in
publick and private are to be performed by him
to every one, and if when any Sin is committed
for want of his care and watchfulness, or due
measure thereof, or any neglect of, yea, or re-
misiness in any of those Duties, it will be the Bi-
shops guilt, if any Soul perish through omission,
or

or defectiveness, or undue performance, the Blood of it will be required at his hands, *vid. orat. 6. de Sacerd. p. 44.* Well might he prefer a Diocess, with one Communion-Table, before the biggest *βασίλειον* that a large Country can afford; well might he say as he does, (*Hom. in Ignat.*) *ἐπιπονοῦν, &c.* *Its very burdensom to have the charge of a 150 Souls;* but it had been too little if he had said a 100 times more than I have alleged, against the desperate wretchedness and blindness of those who are forward to take charge of so many, as it is impossible they should be duly watchful over an hundredth part of them, and never perform any one of those Duties to many thousands of them. But he thought it to no purpose to speak to such (*ὅ γὰρ μοι περὶ ἐχέινων, &c.* who come to such a Charge as their ease, and give themselves to sloth and remissness; and yet take a Charge, and admit but one there to be Pastor, which requires the utmost diligence of a thousand Pastors. What does the guilt of millions of Sins, the blood of Myriads of Souls weigh upon such Heads?

Moreover, hereby it is evident, that *Chrysostom* (the best writers in those times, concurring with him,) would have a Church no larger, and could not count it tolerable for any one to have a Flock consisting of more than he could take exact and particular notice of, and discharge all Pastoral Duties to, and be accountable for, without apparent hazard of his Soul. Such Principles

ples would not admit of very large Bishopricks, when the measures of them were set out, with respect to duty and future account; these would confine them to narrow bounds. When these measures were laid aside, they grew larger; but how little this great Person would have been satisfied with such Enlargement, and what Methods he thought needful to retrench some Excess in his Times, (though little compared with that in after Ages) will appear by what follows. He apprehended the excessive Greatness of a Church under one Bishop, to be of pernicious and damnable Consequence to all sorts. Churches were not such then generally, but in a manner only in very great Cities; (such as that wherein he presided) that which swelled them so big there, was the admitting and tolerating in their Communion all that called themselves Christians, though they neither were such indeed, nor lived like such. Against this, he resolves to bend all his Endeavours, though the Church were thereby like to be reduced to a small number. This is the next Head of those before propounded. *Thirdly*, He is Peremptory, that the unworthy Multitude should be expelled, *καὶ γὰρ, &c.* *For the Sheep that are full of the Scab, and abound with Diseases, should not be folded together with the Sound, but driven from the Fold, untill they be cured*, in Jo. Hom. §. γ. p. 824. And by the Expressions he uses frequently, he signifies that it was his Opinion,

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that

that the Church would lose nothing by such an Evacuation, but that Corruption which both endangered and defaced her ; that though the Tumour fell, and the Body were lessened, yet it would be more sound and healthful, parting with nothing in the loss of such bulkiness, but the matter of their Disease, and the cause of their Deformity. That through the neglect of such a Course, by those who were concerned to pursue it, all went to wrack and ruine. That this Indulgence was such a Sin, as could scarce expect Pardon ; and for his part he resolved not to involve himself in that Guilt, as apprehensive that he could never answer such a neglect of Christ's Laws, before his dreadful Tribunal ; and though he lost the most of his People by it, yea, though he should lose his Place for it, yet would he empty the Church of those corrupt Multitudes.

‘ Through the neglect of such a Course all went to wrack, πάντα ὄχρεται ; all goes to wrack and is ruined, and the reason is because those that Sin are not censured, and those that Rule are distempered, citing 1 *Tim.* 5. 2.

‘ This Indulgence was such a Sin as could scarce expect Pardon, τίνα ἔξομεν συγγνώμεν, &c. What Pardon can we expect, corrupting all by such Indulgence ; there was reason to look for greater severity than *Ely* met with, in *Math. Hom.* 1. 2. p. 125.

He resolved not to involve himself in such guilt, because he could never give an account of it. 'I will not, *says he*, tolerate, I will not admit you, neither will I suffer you to come over these Thresholds; let who will withdraw; let who will complain of me: For what need have I of a Multitude that are diseased? ---- I will forbear none: For when I shall be judged before the Tribunal of Christ, you will stand a far off, and your favour will nothing avail me, when I am called to account. *in Coloss. Hom. 7. p. 128. ἀπαγορεύω, &c.* I will forbid you hereafter to pass over these Thresholds, and to partake of the Immortal Mysteries, as if you were Fornicators, or Adulterers, or accused of Murther: For it is better to joyn in Prayer with two or three that observe God's Law, than to assemble a multitude of Transgressors, and such as debauch the rest. Let no rich man, let none that is potent swell here, and shew his Superciliousness; I regard these no more than a Tale, or a Shadow, or a Dream; none of the Wealthy will then relieve me, when I shall be challenged and accused, as not having vindicated the Laws of God with due severity. *in Math. Hom. 17. p. 125, 126.*

He would empty the Church of those Refractory multitudes, though he lost many of his flock by it. 'But there are, *say they*, other Sects, and they will turn to them, (if they

‘meet with such severity as before he had
 ‘threatned) ψυχρὸς ἔσσις ὁ λόγος, this is a foolish
 ‘Saying ; ’tis better to have one doing the will
 ‘of God, than ten thousand Transgressors. And
 ‘which had you rather choose, (*tell me*) to
 ‘have many fugitive and thievish Servants, or
 ‘one that is well disposed ? Let who will with-
 ‘draw, let who will complain, I will spare none.
 ‘Such words spoil all, that he may depart, (*they*
 ‘say) and turn to another Sect. *in Coloss.* 7. p.
 128.

‘Yea, though he should lose his Bishoprick
 ‘by such a Course, the fear of it should not hin-
 ‘der or retard him : I will Expell, I will inter-
 ‘dict those that are not Obedient ; as long as I
 ‘sit in this Chair, I will suffer none of his com-
 ‘mands to be neglected. If any one displace
 ‘me, I shall then be unaccountable ; but so long
 ‘as I am liable to an account, I cannot connive,
 ‘not only in regard of my own Punishment, but
 of your Salvation. *in Añ. Hom.* 7. p. 656.

And what great numbers would have been
 secluded the Church by this Course, consider-
 ing the great Degeneracy and Corruptions of
 those Times, which he so often, so pathetically
 complains of, will appear by the Particulars in
 his account liable to this Process, and the vast
 extent thereof. He would have excluded from
 Communion, ‘Not only Murderers, Adulterers,
 ‘Fornicators, Swearers, *in Math. H.* 17. p. 125.
 ‘but the unmerciful, p. 515. the covetous, *in*
 Math.

' *Math. Hom.* 28. p. 514. and in *1 Cor.* p. 337.
 ' the envious, in *Math. Hom.* 40. p. 269. the
 ' Profuse otherwise, but uncharitable to the
 ' Poor, in *Coloss. Hom.* 7. p. 128. the superstiti-
 ' ous, *ibid.* p. 134. Symbolizers with foreign
 ' Rights, either Jewish, *Cont. Ind. Tom.* 6. p. 373.
 ' or Heathenish, in *Heb. Hom.* 4. p. 454. Fre-
 ' quenters of Plays, in *Jo. Hom.* 1. p. 558. and
 ' *Tom.* 5. p. 39. Those that neglected Sermons
 ' to follow their Sports, in *Gen. Hom.* 6. p. 33.
 And not only those that neglected what was
 good, and acted what was evil, but evil Speak-
 ers too, in *1 Cor.* p. 540. ' Whosoever was wick-
 ' ed, ἀμαρτωλός, in *1 Tim. Hom.* 5. p. 270. Who-
 ' soever was not cleansed from his sin, καθαρεύς,
 ' in *Math. Hom.* π. ε. p. 515. and *Hom.* 3. in *Tit.*
 ' p. 384. Whosoever was not a true Disciple,
 ' but a counterfeit, as Judas was, in *Math. ibid.*
 ' Whosoever is not καθαρὸς pure, in *Heb. Hom.*
 ' 1. ξ. p. 523. What then, whom shall we admit?
 ' says he, neither those that come but once a
 ' Year, nor those that come often, nor those
 ' come seldom; but those that come with a pure
 ' Conscience, and with a pure Heart, and with
 ' an untainted Life; let such as these have access
 ' always, but those that are not such, not so
 ' much as once at any time; because they re-
 ' ceive Judgment to themselves, and Condem-
 ' nation, and Punishment, and Severity, &c.

Whosoever is not holy, ἅγιος, which is more
 than the former; and he took it to be the sense

of the Church, expressed of old in their solemn Communion by τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις ; and so he explains it. ‘ If any one be not holy, let him have
 ‘ no access ; he says not only, if he be clear of
 ‘ Wickedness, but if he be holy, for freedom
 ‘ from Wickedness does not make one holy, but
 ‘ the presence of the Spirit, and plenty of good
 ‘ Works. I would not only, *says he*, have them
 ‘ freed from dirt, but to be white and beautiful,
 ‘ *ibid.* p. 524, 525. In fine, all that are under
 ‘ the guilt of any Sin, which excludes from the
 ‘ Kingdom of Heaven, in 1 Cor. Hom. 15. It
 ‘ seems to me the speech is concerning the Lea-
 ‘ ven, and it reaches the Priests, who suffer
 ‘ much of the old Leaven to be within, and do
 ‘ not purge it out of their confines, that is, out
 ‘ of the Church ; the Covetous, the Extortion-
 ‘ er, and whatsoever excludes from the Kingdom
 ‘ of Heaven.

Now taking this course to which he was drawn by the authority of Christ, the inforcements of Conscience, and so many and so cogent Reasons ; what a thin Church would he have left himself, (though he presided in one of the most populous Cities in the World) we may easily discern by the Premises, if withal we add what he tells his Auditory, in *AÆ. Hom.* 24.
 ‘ How many do you think in the City will be
 ‘ saved ? It is an odious thing I am going to say,
 ‘ but I will say it notwithstanding ; There is not
 ‘ amongst so many Myriads (which he tells us
 else.

elsewhere were 100000) a hundred to be found that will be saved, p. 753. yea, and I question, adds he, whether so many. He alleges the general Corruption of all sorts, old and young, as the reason why his Charity was no more extensive. ' And in *Jo. Hom.* w. n. p. 544. all things, ' says he, are ruined and corrupted, and the ' Church differs little from a stable of Beasts, or a ' fold of Asses and Camels; and I go about seeking to find one sheep, but I can see none. Affording these passages, the allowance which is requisite in like cases, and understand, by *not one*, very few, and we have the Church to which *Chrysostoms* Principles and Conscience confined him. Principles too severe indeed, for that dissolute and degenerate Age, into which he was fallen; and so his pursuing them, was the occasion of his fall, if that may be called a fall, which exalted him to an honour, little less then that of Martyrdom.

But suppose the multitudes in his Diocese had been such, as he endeavoured to make them; it may be enquired, whether then he would have been content with so numerous a flock.

Ans. This was never the happiness of any Bishop, and so it is not to be supposed; but to proceed upon it: His Principles before specified, obliged him to grasp no more for his particular charge, then he could perform all pastoral Duties to, so as he might give a comfortable account thereof; yet he might have been better

satisfied with a very numerous flock, if they had been qualified according to his desires; and a large Diocess of such a Constitution had been more tolerable, in the Circumstances wherein he and others were at that time: For there were many more Pastors within that place where he presided; he was not so strangely arrogant as to count himself the sole Pastor of so large a City; All Sense and Conscience of a Pastoral charge was not then lost; there were very many who were both to rule and feed that Flock, not he alone, and betwixt him and them, he declares, there was no difference at all, but *only in point of Ordination. Hom. 11. in 1. Tim.*

For their number, there is reason to Judge them above an 100; the great Church had sixty Presbyters at its first establishment, and those increased till *Justinians* time, as he shews, *Nov. 3.* And in all the rest we may well suppose there were as many. The number of Christians, good and bad, the Sects also included, was 100000, as he tells us, in *Acts. Hom. 11.* Now allow a fifth part to be Sects, no more will remain for the charge of 100 or 110 Pastors, then has been made account of in one Parish in *London*; and being divided among so many, the charge of each would be no more then a small Congregation.

This may be said to be a query grounded on a supposition which had no place there nor elsewhere, but in imagination. But in the Condi-

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on wherein he really was, he would have had a Church in his and their charge, more then a hundred times less, then the Corruption of that Age (which he so much laments) had swell'd it to, since he thought himself obliged to exclude so many from the Priviledges of Christians, so that one of the greatest Churches and Bishopricks in the fifth Age, contained not many more *de facto*, then some one of our Parishes; but *de jure*, *Chrysostom* being Judge, too few to be spoken of, if it had been pruned as he thought it necessary.

CHAP. IX.

LET me, in the last place, take notice of something which may be inferred from the Premises, or which they otherwise offer to our Observation.

The change of the Primitive form of Churches made a great alteration in the Government of the Church, dissolving it in a manner by degrees, and reducing it very near to *Anarchy*.

For when the Bishop could not be content with a moderate charge, such as he was capable to manage, but extended it to such a largeness, that it became ungovernable by him, τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναρχίαν εἰκότως κληθεῖς (as *Isidore* of a Bishop of his time, *l. 3. Epist. 319.*) *this pretended ruling was no longer Government but Anarchy.* When one Church, though consisting of as many

ny as the Church of the antient Bishop did ordinarily comprise, and of more then new or old was any way sufficient alone to govern, would not suffice him; but under a pretence, that it was his Office and Prerogative to rule many such, did not set himself to govern any one more then another, nor would admit any other Ruler or Pastor in all or any of them but himself; the Churches were, and could not but be left without Government. Thus, to use *Basil's* words, ἀναρχία τις δεινὴ ἀπὸ φιλαρχίας ταύτης τοῖς λαοῖς ἐπεχώμασεν, *de Spir. Sanct. c. ult.* Through this Ambition of governing all, all Church Government came to nothing. As if a Pilot, who can but be in one Ship at once, and is not sufficient to steer that alone, should undertake to do this fortwenty, or a hundred, or five hundred Ships; and should get it ordered under severe Penalties, that none else in any of them should meddle with a Helm but himself; those Ships will be steered, and those Churches in like Circumstances will be governed alike. It is all one in effect, as if there were no Helm in the Ships, no Government in the Churches. *Zozimus*, censuring the *Romans* for committing the rule of the Empire, (so large a Diocess) to one mans discretion (though such a man as *Augustus*) says, they minded not, that hereby they hazarded the hopes of the Universe, as it were upon the throw of a Dye, ἔλαθον αὐτὰς κύβον ἀναρίξαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔλπισι; adding, that if he were minded to rule them duly and

and justly, it was impossible at so great a distance; if tyrannically, it would be intolerable; and in fine, there was necessity, says he, that the unreasonable Authority of one man should prove κοινὸν αὐτοῦ σχημα, a common Calamity, Hist. l. 1. p. 4. I leave the Application of this to others, only take along herewith the Judgment of Chrysostom, That it was far more easie for a Prince to Rule the Universe, than for a Bishop to govern one Town, in Act. Hom. 3. p. 626. Savil. Edit. But what might Zozimus have said, if Augustus ruling the Place where he was, no more than the remoter Parts, would have admitted no other Governour in Places near or remote, but himself alone? would not he and all have concluded, that the Empire must unavoidably be left to the miseries of Anarchy? Its true, there seems a great difference betwixt an Empire and a Diocess; but there is also a great latitude in impossibilities, as a man cannot possibly jump into the Moon; so neither is it possible for him to spring up twenty Miles into the Air.

This clears up to us a considerable Practice of the Primitive Church. In the *Apostles* Times, and divers Ages after, all the People under the Inspection of one Bishop, were wont to meet together, not only for Worship, but other Church Administrations; all publick Acts passed at Assemblies of the whole People; they were consulted with; their Concurrence was thought necessary, and their Presence required; that
nothing

nothing might pass without their Cognizance, Satisfaction and Consent. This was observed, not only in Elections of Officers, but in Ordinations and Censures; in admission of Members, and reconciling of Penitents, and in Debates and Consultations about other Emergencies. There is such Evidence for this in antient Writers, particularly in *Cyprian*, almost in every of his *Epistles*, (where we have a more satisfying account of the Government of the Church, and the Exercise of it in those Times, than in many Volumes of the following Age) that it is acknowledged by modern Writers of all sorts, such as are the most learned and best acquainted with Antiquity.

And when this is granted, it cannot be denied, that of old the Bishops Charge was as small as we represent it: For it may be easily conceived how all the People might use this Liberty and Privilege, when the Bishop had but one Church; but if his Diocese had been of a Modern Size, or any thing near it, this had been altogether impracticable.

In short, the enlarging of Bishopricks so much beyond the antient Bounds, so as the People were deprived of their Primitive Privilege, and could not have the moderate liberty of intervening at all in Church Affairs, by themselves, or any to represent them; inferred a great, if not an essential Change in the Government of the Church. Whereas before it was *mixed*, and
had

had something of a popular *Allay* ; (as there is in the best Forms of Civil Government) here-upon the Peoples Interest being excluded, it became *absolute*. It was no longer, as *Plato* says, it was sometimes at *Athens*, and as *Grotius* tell us, it was in the Primitive Church ἀριστοκρατία μετ' εὐλοκίας τῶ πλῆθους, *An Aristocracy ordering all things with the good liking of the People*, Annot. in Act. 6. 2.

Hereby an account may be given of the great diversity of Rites and Usages in the Antient Churches. A single Congregation was a competent Charge for a Primitive Bishop ; so that Episcopal Churches were greatly multiplied ; each of such Churches had power to govern and order it self, and so followed such orders as every Church thought fit, without being obliged to conform to those of others. They had no rule nor order, in things of this nature, requiring invariable Observance ; nor did they regard such Uniformity as others, many hundred Years after, in Ages as many times worse, seem fond of. None of those Churches used the same Prayers, nor the Lord's Prayer but only at the Eucharist. All of them had not the same Creed, nor used any of their publick Worship, but what was repeated by the *Catechumens* at Baptism. They had not the same Rites in *Baptism* or the *Lord's Supper*, nor the same way in *Confirming*, *Marrying*, or *Burying*. They used not the same mode either in Reading the Scriptures,

tures, or Singing. They observed not the same methods in admitting Members, or preparing them for Communion, neither in proceeding to Censures, nor reconciling Penitents. They differed in their Habits and Postures. They varied in their Fasts, both for time and manner. They observed not the same Festivals; nor more, I think, than two of the many that are now observed. So very various were their usages in the Primitive Ages, each preferring their own and declining others. Such as this, and what might be shewed in more Instances, was the *Uniformity* of the Antient Churches. That which is now admired appears hereby to be a meer Novelty. How far were they from counting it worthy of Christian Pastors, to make this more their Business, than the suppressing of sin, and promoting of real Holiness? And who can believe, that they design or understand Christian Peace and Unity, who hurry all into Divisions and Confusions, for haste after that which the best Churches thought not worth looking after? Those that have read the Antients, and observed their Usages, will question none of this, and so there is no need to bring particular Authorities to confirm it, only this in general. In *Egypt*, *Zozomen* tells us, many Cities and Villages not only differed from the Observances of *Alexandria*, and other Towns in that Country, but from all other Churches besides. *Hist. l. 7. c. 19.* In *Africa*, *Austin* expresses
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the diversities to be innumerable, *Nec tamen omnia commemorari potuerint, retract. l. 2. c. 20.* In other parts of the *Latin Church*, *Italy* particularly, *Innocent* the first says, that several Churches had their several Modes of celebrating, *Diverse in diversis locis, vel Ecclesiis obtineri, aut celebrari videntur, Epist. ad. Decentium.* In the *Greek Church* and elsewhere, *Socrates* gives a large account of their different Rites and Usages, *Hist. l. 5. c. u. β.* where, after abundance of instances, he says, to reckon up all, is not only difficult, but impossible, ἐγὼ δὲς μάλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον, see *Zozom. ubi supra.* And yet there was no hurt in all this, so long as there was an agreement in the faith, if we will believe one of the greatest Prelates in the *West*, and that at no less than 600 years distance from Christ, *in una fide nihil officit sanctæ Ecclesiæ diversa consuetudo*, saith *Gregory* the first; where there is one faith, it's no harm to the Church if there be diversity of Usages; that is, the Church has no harm for want of Uniformity. Nay the Faith has advantage by difference in Rites, says *Irenæus* to *Victor*, in *Euseb. l. 5. c. u. σ.* ἡ διαφορὴ τῆς ἡσείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι, a Diversity in less matters commends the Church, when there is an agreement in points of Faith.

This may restrain us from charging one another with Schism for such things, wherein the antient Churches are like to be involved in the same condemnation.

In

In the best Ages of Christianity, they were still erecting new Churches in Towns and Country Places, as appears by the former Discourse.

The Bishops did commonly consent that such Churches should be constituted of Christians in their Vicinity ; or, if they refused unreasonably, it was done without their Consent. The Bishops of *Gaza* are instances hereof.

Those Churches were single Congregations, settled under peculiar Officers of their own choosing, viz. a Pastor or Bishop, and usually one, or more Assistants.

By these they were governed and ordered without subjection to any Rulers of other Churches. *Cyprian*, in the middle of the third Age, (who well knew the current sense and practice of those times,) declares, that none of them then did take themselves to be a *Bishop of Bishops*, *Neque enim quisquam nostrum se Episcopum Episcoporum constituit*. And when Metropolitans got place in the Churches, they had no ruling Power over other Pastors, but a meer *presidency* in their Assemblies, where the rule was (as the *Council* that first authorized them decreed) *κραιτέτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψήφος*, that *all should be carried by plurality of Voices*. *Con. Nic. Can. 6.*

Those single Churches had severed Assemblies, and held distinct Communion from other Churches, they did not think themselves bound to conform to any other Church; either near to them,

them, or further off, in Rites, Forms, or other Observances of this Nature. They owned no rule obliging them to use the same Prayers, the same Gestures, the same Vestments or Modes of Administration; but every Pastor had power to order himself in such things according to his Discretion; and it was judged *Tyrannical* for one to prescribe to another, and all power of imposing expressly disclaimed. St. Jerom. p. 372. *Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyranico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adegit, quando habeat omnis Episcopus pro libertatis & potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare.* Cypr. in Conc. Carthage.

Nemini prescribentes aut præjudicantes, quo minus unusquisque Episcoporum quod putaverit faciat, &c. Id. Epist. ad Jubian.

Nemini præscribentes, quo minus statuat unusquisque præpositus quod putat, actus sui rationem domino redditurus. Id. Epist. ad Mag.

And thus those Churches continued, though they were condemned by the *Civil Laws*, and forbidden by the *Magistrates*, for three hundred years and more.

These severals are either clear by the Premises, or will not be questioned by any who are not strangers to Antiquity. And if nothing of Schism be found in all this, they are not

to be charged with it, who are now in the like Circumstances. This cannot be done with Justice or Charity, no nor with Prudence neither; for those who accuse others of Schism for dissenting from them, in those things wherein the Accusers depart from the universal Church in the best Ages, will find the charge recoil upon themselves; seeing it is not to be doubted, but in time it will be counted less Schismaticall, to imitate the *Universal Church* retaining her Integrity; then to differ from those who propose the Wracks and Ruines of the Church for their Exemplar.

Hereby it appears, with what Judgment and Charity, some amongst us will have none to be true Churches that want *Diocesan* Bishops. If by a *Diocesan* they understand one who is the sole Pastor of many Churches; they hereby blast all the Churches in the Apostles times, and the best Ages after, as no Churches, for none of these had any such *Diocesans*; and so herein they are as wise and friendly, as if one to secure the height of his own Turret, should attempt to blow up all the Houses in the best part of the World. Nay they blow up their own too: for hereby they deny both the beginning, and succession of Churches for divers hundred years. And if there were no Churches then, they will not dream there can be any now; seeing by their Principles the being of them now, depends

pend upon the beginning, and uninterrupted succession of them. There can be no succeeding at all, where there is no beginning; no uninterrupted succession, where there is a total failure for whole Ages.

So likewise it is hereby manifest, that there were no Diocesan Churches in those antient times; I mean many Churches united under one Bishop, as their sole Ruler and Pastor. No such thing appears for divers whole Ages after Christ. The antient Bishop had but one Church, one Temple, one Communion Table, where all that belonged to him might communicate together. *Petavius* could discover no more Churches in any City but one. In the fourth Age there were indeed, in some Cities, some other places where Christians held Assemblies for other Offices; but none but one for the *Eucharist*. Those places were called *Tituli* at *Rome* *Lauræ* at *Alexandria*. I find them no where else, but in those two Cities so early; but they were like Chapels of ease rather than Churches. *Epiphanius* reckons up above ten of them in *Alexandria*; but we have more in some one Parish in *England*, yet the *Vicar* there was never counted a *Diocesan*. Much less were there any *Diocesan* Churches in that largeness, wherein those that write for them amongst us, do usually take them; as comprising all the Churches in a great *Shiere*, yea in many *Counties*

together : for such a circuit of old was a *Province*, or more than a *Province*, though that comprised multitudes of their *Ecclesiastical Diocesses*. No single Bishop was then allowed to be such a *Pluralist*. It was thought enough for a *Metropolitan*, if not for a *Patriarch*, to have the superintendency of such a Country cantonized unto multitudes of Bishops under him. Yea many *Metropolitans* together had not so large a circuit for their inspection as some one modern Diocess. The greater *Phrygia*, if I much mistake not, was scarce bigger than the Diocess of *Lincoln*, and yet had in it seven or eight *Metropolitans*, viz. Of *Laodicea*, *Cynnada*, *Hierapolis*, *Amorium*, *Cotyaem*, *Apamia*, *Chonæ*, &c. And to one of them, viz. *Laodicea*, belonged more Bishops then all *England* has ; that and *Cynnada* only, had more Bishops then *England*, *Scotland*, and *Wales*.

Those that plead for such Bishops, plead for more than *Diocesans*, prodigiously more extending their jurisdiction to multitudes of Towns and their Territories, each of which would have been thought sufficient for a Bishops Diocess of old. For divers had no Territory in their Episcopal Charge ; and others, and the most of them had no Territory larger than that of a Parish, (such as we have many) which will not be allowed to be called a Diocess without laughter. And where
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the Region was larger, and replenished with Christians, usually there was some Bishop, or many in the Territory, besides him in the City : For, as we shewed before, to settle Bishops in Country Places and Villages, and Towns no bigger than Villages, was the free and frequent practice of the Church, without any shew of restraint till the middle of the Fourth Age ; and if they had proceeded in that course, probably within the compass of another Age, every country Town, or handsome Village, where Christianity prevailed, would have had its Bishop, as *M. T.* a learned Prelatist (better acquainted with the state of the Antient Church, than those who have the confidence to affirm, that here were never Bishops in Villages) tells us it was in *Africa*. And why they should not have proceeded still in the same course in other places ; no reason is given, (by those who gave some check to it) either from Scripture, or antient Constitution, or Practice. But some solicitous for such honour for Bishops, as former and better times shewed no regard of ; thought it not fit to have Bishops so common, that they might have more honour. In short, since they will have a City with all the Region to be a Diocess, its hereby manifest, that neither he that presided in the City, nor he that was Bishop in the Country, could be counted a Diocesan, since neither had more for

his share than part of a Diocess, in the modern acception of the Word.

Hereby also some mistakes about Episcopal *Ordinations*, of ill consequence, may be rectified. A Bishop, in the best Ages of Christianity, was no other than the Pastor of a single Church. A Pastor of a single Congregation is now as truly a Bishop. They were duly ordained in those Ages, who were set apart for the work of the Ministry by the Pastor of a single Church, with the concurrence of some Assistants. Why they should not be esteemed to be duly ordained, who are accordingly set apart by a Pastor of a single Church now, I can discern no reason, after I have looked every way for it. Let something be assigned, which will make an essential difference herein; otherwise they that judge such *Ordinations*, here, and in other Reformed Churches, to be Nullities, will hereby declare all the *Ordinations* in the Antient Church for three or four hundred years, to be null and void, and must own the dismal Consequences that ensue thereof. They that will have no *Ordinations*, but such as are performed by one, who has many Churches under him; maintain a Novelty, never known nor dreamt of in the Antient Churches, while their state was tolerable. They may as well say the Antient Church had never a Bishop, (if their interest did not hinder, all the Reason

son they make use of in this Case would lead them to it) as deny that a Reformed Pastor has no power to ordain, because he is not a Bishop. He has Episcopal *Ordination*, even such as the *Canons* require, being set apart by two or three Pastors at least, who are as truly *Diocesans* as the Antient Bishops, for some whole Ages. He is also elected by the People; and of old, he could never be nor be accounted a Bishop, whatever *Ordination* he had, that was not so *Elected*. And besides he has as large a Diocess as most in the best times of the Church; and so makes it his business to feed and rule the Flock, and Exercise the power of the Keys. But if it be said, he has no superiority over Presbyters, nor any under him; it may be answered, That this is not necessary to a Bishop in the Judgment of the most Learned Prelatists, particularly *D. H.* maintains, that there were no subject Presbyters in Scripture Times, but Bishops alone without them; and supposes a great part of this Church to be of his perswasion. The *Council of Sardica* taking care, that a Bishop should be no way lessened, allows a Bishop to be made in any place for which one Presbyter is not sufficient; so that in the Judgment of those Fathers, one Assistant may be enough for a Bishop. In the Third *Council of Carthage*, *Can. 45.* *Posthumianus* inquiring if whether a Bishop

had but one Presbyter, he might be removed from him; Bishop *Bilsons perpetual Government*, p. 302. infers from thence, that Bishops often had but one Presbyter, and *that one*, might be translated to another place. It was ordinary of old to have Metropolitans, or Archbishops, without any Bishops under them: In the *Greek Church* we meet with such almost in every Province; and no Reason can be given, why they might not as well be Bishops without any Presbyters under them. However, that Superiority over Presbyters which is challenged in later Times, is quite another thing than it was of old; and may with more Reason be thought to lift him who affects it above a Bishop, than to leave him who declines it below one.

In fine, By this we may give an Account why they admitted but of one Bishop in a City. When the Christians were no more in a City than made up one Church, which one Communion Table would serve; one Bishop, with some Assistants, of the same power, though of another Denomination, were counted sufficient. But this came afterwards to be drawn into other Consequence than was at first intended. For when Christians were so multiplied, Heathens and others being reduced, (as they were in some greater Cities) that it was necessary to distribute them into several Churches, they would but
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have one Bishop still, pleading for it Antient Custom, when the Reason of the Usage was gone. However this was less considerable while the Presbyters, fixed to the several Churches in such Cities, retained the power of Pastors or Bishops, and there was no difference betwixt them and him to whom the title of Bishop was appropriated, but only in point of ordaining others; as *Jerome* and *Chrysostom* affirm there was not, for the difference herein was but small, & πολὺ τὸ μεσόν, says *Chrysostom*, in *1 Tim. Hom. 11.* and *Theophylact* after him, *ferme nihil*, as it is rendered, *next to nothing*. For this Power or Privilege inferred no Superiority in him that had it, since Inferiours did, in the ordinary Practice of the antient Church, ordain their Superiours; Bishops consecrated Metropolitans, or Primates, or Patriarchs. And though some now will have it to make that of Bishops a different Order; yet then it made neither difference in Order nor Degree, as may be evident by an instance or two. The Bishops of *Cyprus* and other Places, that were *αὐτοκέφαλοι*, had power to ordain their own Metropolitans. *Concil. Chalced. can. 29.* The Bishops of *Asia*, *Pontus*, and *Thrace*, &c. had not the Power to ordain them; yet all those Bishops were so far from differing in Order, that they did not differ in Degree. Besides the Bishops of *Meletius* party in *Egypt*, were by the

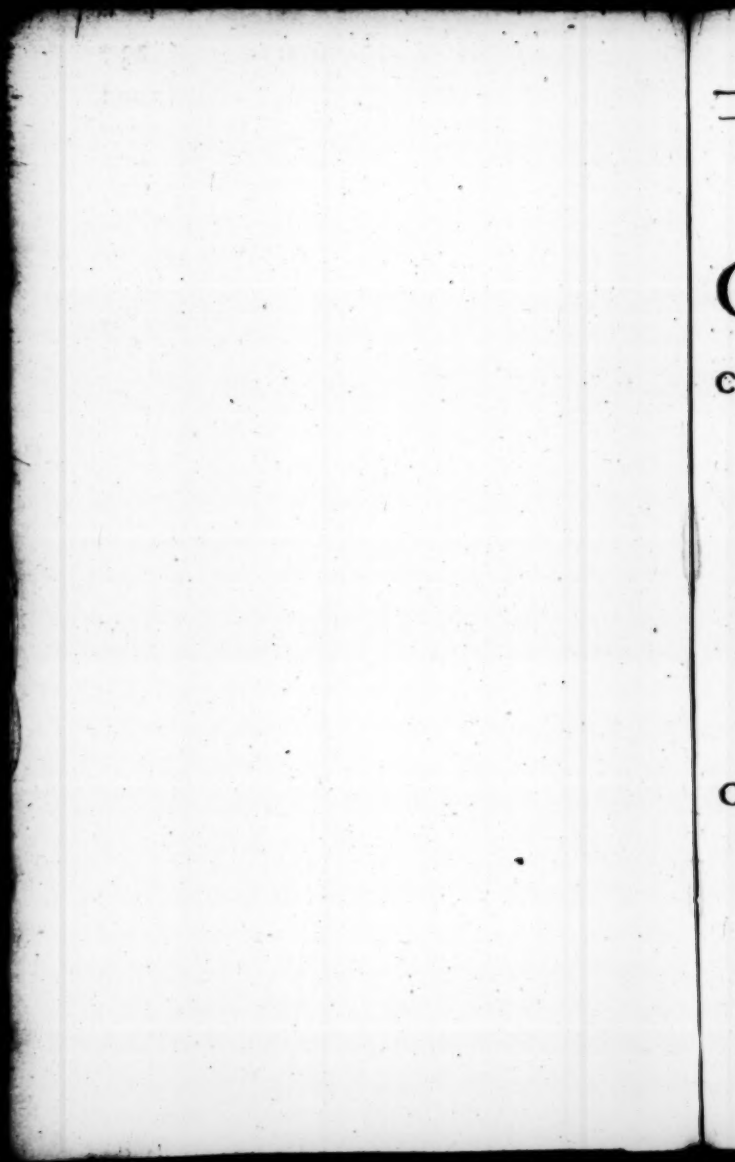
the Council of *Nice* denied Power to ordain any Officers, Presbyters, or others, without the leave or concurrence of the other Bishops in that Region ; and yet by the same Synod were confirmed in the Office and Dignity of Bishops ; so that depriving them of that power of ordaining, which other Bishops had, did neither degrade them, nor make them Officers of another Species. *Vid. Epist. Syn. Nic. ad Alexandrin.*

But it seems probable to some, that *Chrysostom* and *Jerom* speak only of the Greek Church (or some part of it) where the former was Bishop, and where the latter did most reside and write. Whereas in those Places where the Presbyters did impose hands in ordaining, as they did in *Africa* and other parts of the *Latin Church*, there is not any thing which belongs to Ordination, which the Presbyters did not actually perform : For, that they imposed hands as *Consenters* and not as *Ordainers*, is a meer shift, without reason to countenance it ; and it may be said as reasonably, that when two Bishops or more imposed hands with the Metropolitan in the ordaining of a Bishop, they concurred not as *Ordainers* but *Consenters*. And in the *Greek Church* it is sufficiently signified by the Synod at *Ancyra*, *Can. 13.* that at the time when the Synod was holden, and after, the City Presbyters might ordain with the Bishops

Bishops Consent, though he were absent; and that before this restraint they might have done more. However, hereby it appears, that the difference between Bishops and Presbyters, in respect of their Power, was in some Places *in a manner nothing*, in other places *nothing at all*; so that till the Usurpations, beginning in the fourth Age, proceeded higher, there were really more Bishops in one City, though but one had the *Name*.



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